





William Davison.

THE
1489 ff46
Third Volume
OF
PLUTARCH'S
LIVES.

Translated from the Greek,
BY
SEVERAL HANDS.

L O N D O N,

Printed by R. E. for Jacob Tonson, at the Judges-
Head in Chancery-Lane, near Fleet-street, 1693.



LIVES contained in this
Volume.

P*irrhus*, translated by Dr. Croune.

Page 1.

Cajus Marius, Mr. Stapleton. 70

Lysander, Mr. Boyle. 154

Sylla, Mr. Davis. 204

Cimon, Mr. Morgan. 284

Lucullus, Mr. Thornburgh. 327

Nicias, Mr. Rymer. 411

Crassus, Mr. Amburst. 472

Eumenes, 548

Sertorius, Dr. Brown. 575

A Chrono-

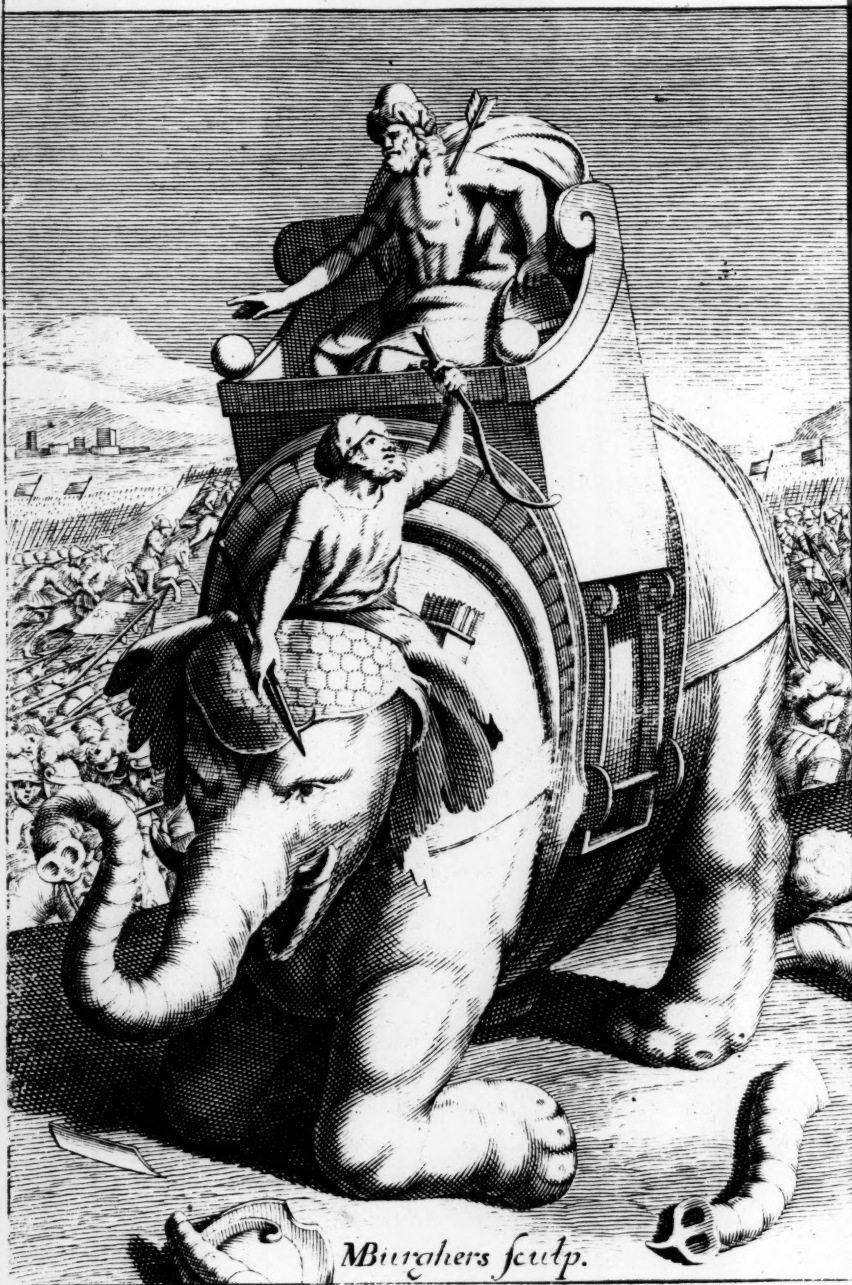
*A Chronological Table to the Third Volume
of Plutarch's Lives.*



	The Olympiad.	The Year of the Olympiad.	After the building of Rome.	After the Worlds Creation.	Before the Com. of Christ.	The Julian Period.
<i>Pyrrhus.</i>	123	1	465	3662	286	4426
<i>Caius Marius</i> first time Consul.	168	2	646	3843	105	4607
<i>Lysander</i> took <i>A-</i> <i>thens.</i>	93	4	348	3545	403	4309
<i>Sylla</i> Consul.	173	1	665	3862	86	4626
<i>Cimon</i> overthrew the <i>Perfians.</i>	78	1	285	3482	466	4246
<i>Lucullus.</i>	177	2	682	3879	69	4643
<i>Nicias.</i>	91	1	337	3534	414	4298
<i>Marcus Crassus</i> , first time Consul.	177	3	683	3880	68	4644
<i>Eumenes.</i>	114	2	431	3628	320	4392
<i>Sertorius</i> , the Bat- tel of <i>Sacro.</i>	175	4	676	3873	75	4637



PYRRHUS.



MBurgers sculp.

(1)

THE
L I F E
O F
PYRRHUS.

From the Greek,
By *William Croune, M.D. Fell. of
the Coll. of Physicians.*

VOLUME III.

OF the *Thesprotes* and *Molossians* after the great Inundation, the first King some write was *Phaëton*, one of them who in *Pelasgus's* Company came into *Epirus*: Others tell us *Deucalion* and *Pyrrha* having built a Temple at *Dodona*, settled there among the *Molossians*. In after time *Neoptolemus*, *Achilles's* Son, transplanting a Colony, possess'd these Parts himself, and left a Succession of Kings after him,

B

him, nam'd *Pyrrhidæ* (for he in his Youth was call'd *Pyrrhus*) and of his Legitimate Children, one born of *Lanassa* Daughter of *Cleodes*, *Hyllus* his Son, he nam'd *Pyrrhus* also. From him *Achilles* came to have Divine Honours in *Epirus*, under the name of *Aspetus* in the Language of the Country: After these first Kings, those of the following middle times becoming barbarous, and so rendred both in their Governments and Lives obscure; *Tharrytes* is said to be the first, who, by adorning Cities with Greek Manners and Learning, and Laws acceptable to Mankind, left any Fame of himself. *Alcetes* was the Son of *Tharrytes*, *Arybas* of *Alcetes*, and of *Arybas* and *Troas* his Queen, *Æacides*: He married *Pthia* the Daughter of *Menon* the *Thessalian*, a very brave man living at the time of the *Lamiac* War, and of highest Command in the Confederate Army next *Leosthenes*. To *Æacides*, were born of *Pthia*, *Deidamia* and *Trojas* Daughters, and *Pyrrhus* a Son. The *Molossians* afterwards falling into Factions, and throwing off *Æacides*, brought in the Sons of *Neoptolemus*, and such Friends of *Æacides*, as they could take, were all cut off: *Pyrrhus* yet an Infant, and search'd for by the Enemy, *Androclides* and *Angelus* had stol'n away and fled; but being obliged to take with them a few Servants,

and

Descent of
Pyrrhus.

and the Women that nurs'd the Child, it made their Escape more difficult and slow; Pursu'd by Enemies while an Infant hardly escapes. so being overtaken they deliver'd the Infant to *Androclion*, *Hippias*, and *Neander*, faithful and able young Fellows, giving them in charge with all imaginable diligence to reach *Megara*, a Town of the *Macedons*; and themselves partly by entreaty, and partly by force, stopt the course of the Pursuers till very late in the Evening; at last having hardly forc'd them back, they joyn'd those who had the care of *Pyrrhus*: But the Sun being already set, and they near the utmost point now of their hopes, were on the sudden defeated; for coming to the River that runs by the City, it look'd very dreadful and rough, and endeavouring to pass over, they found it was not fordable; for some late Rains had swell'd the Water, and made it run very foul: The darkness of the Night added to the horror of all, so that they durst not adventure of themselves to carry over the Child and the Women that attended it; but perceiving some of the Country People on t'other side, desir'd they would assist their passage, and show'd them *Pyrrhus*, calling out aloud, and importuning them, but they could not hear for the noise and roarings of the Water: Thus time was spent while those call'd out, and the others did not un-

derstand what was said, till one recollecting himself, pill'd off a piece of Bark from an Oak, and writ on it with the tongue of a Buckle, expressing the Necessities and the Fortunes of the Child, and then rowling it about a Stone, which was made use of to give force to the Motion, threw it over to the other side; some report they fastned it to the end of a Javelin, and darted it over, when they on the other Shore read what was on the Bark, and considered the shortness of the time, instantly cutting down some Trees, and lashing them together, came over to them; it fell out, he who first got a-Shore, and took *Pyrrhus* in his Arms, was named *Achilles*, the rest were help'd over by others as they came to hand: Thus being safe, and out of the reach of pursuit, they address themselves to *Glaucias* then King of *Illyria*, and finding him at Court sitting with the Queen, they laid down the Child before them: The King began to weigh this affair, fearing *Cassander* a mortal Enemy of *Æacides*, and being in a deep consideration, said nothing for a long time; while *Pyrrhus* scrambling about, got hold with his hand on his Robe, and so helping himself upon his feet against the knees of *Glaucias*, first mov'd Laughter, and then Pity, as a little humble crying Petitioner. Some say he did not lie groveling before

before *Glaucias*, but catching hold of an Altar of the Gods, and spreading his hands about it, rais'd himself up by that, which *Acti-* *Glaucias surpriz'd with an ominous action of the Child, resolves to protect him.*
on to Glaucias seem'd to have in it something of divine, and immediately gave *Pyrrhus* into the Queen's Arms, commanding he should be brought up with his own Children; a little after the Enemies sending to demand him, and *Cassander* himself offering two hundred Talents, he would not deliver him up; but when he was twelve years old, bringing him with an Army into *Epirus*, made him King; *Pyrrhus* in the Air of his Face had something more of Fierce, than of the August of Majesty; he had not many Teeth, but all above was one continued Bone, *Instead of upper Teeth one Bone.* divided with small Lines, resembling the spaces of a Row of Teeth; it was a general belief he could cure the Spleen by sacrificing a white Cock, and with his right foot gently pressing upon the Spleen of the Persons laid down on their backs a little to one side, nor was any so poor or inconsiderable as not to receive the benefit of his Royal Touch, if he desired it; after the Sacrifice he accepted the Cock as a Reward, and the Present was almost welcome to him; the Toe of that foot was said to have a divine Virtue; for after his death, the rest of the body being consum'd, this was found unhurt and untouch'd by the Fire; but of

He touches for the Spleen.

these things afterwards. Being now about Seventeen years old, and the Government in appearance well settled, he took a Journey out of the Kingdom to the marriage of one of *Glaucias's* Sons, with whom he was brought up, at which time the *Molossians* again rebelling, turn'd out all of his Party, rifled his Exchequer, and gave up themselves to *Neoptolemus*: *Pyrrhus* having thus lost the Kingdom, and in want of all things, apply'd himself to *Demetrius* the Son of *Antigonus*, that married his Sister *Deidamia*, who while she was but a little Miss, they us'd to call *Alexander's* Wife Son of *Roxana*; but their Affairs after proving unfortunate, when she came to Age, *Demetrius* married her. At the great Battle of *Ipsus*, where so many Kings were engag'd, *Pyrrhus* taking party with *Demetrius*, tho' yet but a Youth, routed those that encountred him, and highly signaliz'd himself among all the Souldiery; after when *Demetrius's* Fortunes were low, he did not forsake him then, but secur'd for him those Cities of *Greece*, with which he was entrusted. Upon Articles of Agreement made between *Demetrius* and *Ptolomy*, he went over an Hostage into *Ægypt*, and both in Hunting, and other Exercises, gave *Ptolomy* a lively demonstration of his Courage and Strength. Here observing *Berenice* in greatest Power, and of all *Ptolomy's* Wives,

An early
Warriour,

His exer-
cises.

Wives, highest in Esteem for Vertue and Understanding, he made his Court, and paid his respects principally to her; for he had a particular Art of obliging the Great for his own Interest, and easily overlook'd such as were below him: In Dyet very elegant but temperate; so that among all the young Princes then at Court, he was thought most fit to have *Antigone* for his Wife, one of the Daughters of *Berenice* by *Philip*, before she marry'd *Ptolomy*. After this Match, advancing in Honour, and *Antigone* being a very good Wife to him, having settled a Fond of Money, and rais'd an Army, he so ordered matters, to be sent into his Kingdom of *Epirus*, and arriv'd there to the great satisfaction of many, from their hate to *Neoptolemas*, governing in a violent and arbitrary way. But fearing lest *Neoptolemus* should enter into Alliance with some Neighbour Princes, he came to Terms and Friendship with him in an equal share of the Government: Sometime after there were those who secretly exasperated them, and fomented Jealousies of one another. The cause chiefly moving *Pyrrhus*, is said to have had this beginning. It was customary for the Kings in *Parasso*, a Province of *Molossia*, after Sacrifice to *Mars*, to enter into a solemn Covenant with the *Epirots*; they to Govern according to Law, these to preserve the Government,

ment, as by Law establish'd. This was performed in the presence of both Kings, who were there with their particular Favourites, giving and receiving many Presents: Here *Gelon*, one faithful to *Neoptolemus*, taking *Pyrrhus* familiarly by the hand, presented him with two pair of draught Oxen, these *Myrtilus* his Cup-bearer being then by, begg'd of *Pyrrhus*, who not giving them to him, but another, *Myrtilus* extremely resented it. which *Gelon* took notice of, and inviting him to a Treat (where as some report he debauch'd him too after drinking, being in the Flower of his Youth) he entered into discourse, perswading him to adhere to *Neoptolemus*, and destroy *Pyrrhus* by Poyson; *Myrtilus* receiv'd the Design, as praising and consenting to it, but indeed privately discovered it to *Pyrrhus*, by whose Command he recommended *Alexicrates* his chief Cup-bearer to *Gelon*, as a fit Instrument for their Design, because *Pyrrhus* was very desirous to have proof of the Plot by several Evidences; so *Gelon* being deceiv'd, *Neoptolemus*, who was as much deceiv'd by him, and imagining the Design went prosperously on, could not hold, but for Joy vented it among his Friends, and once at an Entertainment at his Sister *Cadmia*'s, spoke very frankly of it, thinking none heard but themselves. Nor was any there but *Phenare-*
tate

Vol.III. of PYRRHUS.

tate the Wife of *Samon*, who had the care of managing *Neoptolemus's* Flocks and Herds. She being turn'd towards the Wall upon a Pallet, seem'd fast asleep; but having heard all that past unsuspected, next day came to *Antigone Pyrrhus's* Wife, and told her what she heard *Neoptolemus* say to his Sister; which *Pyrrhus* understanding, for the present said little, but on a Sacrifice day, making an Invitation for *Neoptolemus*, kill'd him; being satisfied before that the Great men of the *Epirots* were his Friends, advising him to rid himself of *Neoptolemus*, and not love one who shar'd the least point in the Government with him, but follow his own inclination in undertaking his greater Designs, and a just ground of suspicion already appearing, prevent *Neoptolemus*, by taking him off first. In memory of *Berenice* and *Ptolomee*, he nam'd his Son by *Antigone*, *Ptolomee*, and having built a City in the Peninsula of *Epirus*, call'd it *Berenicis*. From this time he began to revolve many and vast things in his thoughts; but his first hope and design was particularly laid near home, and he found means to engage himself in the *Macedonian* Affairs under this pretension. Of *Cassander's* Sons, *Antipater* the eldest both kill'd *Theffalonica* his Mother, and expuls'd his Brother *Alexander*, who sent to *Demetrius* entreating his assistance, and also call'd in

Builds the City *Berenicis*.

Pyrrhus designs mighty Things.

in *Pyrrhus*; but *Demetrius* being retarded by multitude of business, *Pyrrhus* coming first demanded in reward of his Service the City of *Nymphæa* and the Sea-Coasts of *Macedon*, and of their new Conquests *Ambracia*, *Acarnania*, and *Amphilochia*. The young Prince giving way, he took possession of these Countries, and secur'd them with good Garrisons, and kept for *Alexander* himself the other part of the Kingdom which he gain'd from *Antipater*. *Lyfimachus* designing to send aid to *Antipater* was involv'd in much other business, but knowing *Pyrrhus* would not disoblige *Ptolomee*, or deny him any thing, sent pretended Letters to him as from *Ptolomee*, desiring him to give over that Expedition, upon the payment of 300 Talents to him by *Antipater*: *Pyrrhus* opening the Letter quickly discover'd the fraud of *Lyfimachus*; for it had not the accustom'd Stile of Salutation, The Father to the Son health, but King *Ptolomee* to *Pyrrhus* the King health; and reproaching *Lyfimachus*, he notwithstanding made a peace, and they all met to confirm it by a Solemn Oath upon Sacrifice: a Goat, a Bull, and a Ram being brought out, the Ram on a sudden fell dead, which although some only laugh'd at, *Theodotus* the Priest forbid *Pyrrhus* to swear, declaring Heaven by that portended the death of one of the three Kings,

Kings, upon which he refused to ratifie the peace. The Affairs of *Alexander* being now in some kind of Settlement, *Demetrius* arriv'd, and 'twas evident he came undesir'd, and struck a Terroure into *Alexander*; after they had been a few days together, their mutual Jealousie made them design upon each other; but *Demetrius* taking advantage of the first occasion was before hand with the young King, and slew him, and proclaim'd himself King of *Macedon*. There had been formerly no very good understanding between him and *Pyrrhus*; for besides the inroads he made into *Thessaly*, the innate disease of Princes, Ambition of greater Empire, rendred their Neighbourhood formidable and suspected, especially since *Deidamia's* death, and both having seiz'd *Macedon*, they came foul upon the same thing, and the difference between them had the fairer colours; *Demetrius* having entred into a War with the *Ætolians* and subdu'd them, and left *Pantanchus* there with a considerable Army, march'd directly against *Pyrrhus*, and, *Pyrrhus* (as he thought) against him, but by mistake of the ways they past by one another, *Demetrius* falling into *Epirus* wasted the Country, and *Pyrrhus* meeting with *Pantanchus* prepar'd for an Engagement. The Soldiers falling in pell-mell, there was a sharp and great Fight, especially where the
Generals

*Jealousies
between
Pyrrhus
and his
Brother-in-
Law De-
metrius.*

*Glories in
his Descent
from Achil-
les.*

*He fights
singly with
Pantan-
chus,*

Generals were. *Pantanchus* in courage, dexterity, and strength of body, being confessedly the best of all *Demetrius* his Captains, and having both Resolution and Conduct challeng'd *Pyrrhus* to fight hand to hand; on the other side *Pyrrhus* not less than any of the Kings in Valour and Glory, and esteeming the Honour of *Achilles* rather due to him for his Courage than his Blood, advanc'd against *Pantanchus* through the Front of the Army; First, they us'd their Lances, then came to a close Fight, and manag'd their Swords both with Art and Force, *Pyrrhus* receiving one wound but returning two for it, one in the Thigh, the other near the Neck, repuls'd and overthrew *Pantanchus*, but did not kill him outright, for he was suddenly rescu'd by his Friends: the *Epirots* rais'd with the Victory of their King, and admiring his Courage, forc'd through and cut in pieces the close Body of the *Macedonians*, and pursuing those that fled, kill'd many, and took 5000 Prisoners. This Fight did not so much exasperate the *Macedonians* with Anger for their Loss, or with Hatred to *Pyrrhus*, as it caus'd an Esteem, and Admiration of his Virtue, and a great Discourse among those that saw what he did and were engag'd against him in the Action: They thought his Countenance, and Swiftness, and Motion express those

those of the Great *Alexander*, and that in him they beheld Shadows, and Resemblances of his Vivacity and Strength in Fight; other Kings in Purple and Guards, and a formal bending of their Necks, and speaking in a lofty tone only *Pyrrhus* in Arms, and *Acti-* on representing *Alexander*. Of his Knowledge in Military Order and Discipline, and his Great ability that way we have the best information from the Commentaries he left behind him about this Argument: *Antigonus* being ask'd who was the greatest Souldier, said *Pyrrhus*, if he liv'd to be old, meaning those only of his own time; *Hannibal* of great Commanders esteem'd *Pyrrhus* for Sufficiency and Conduct the first, *Scipio* the second, and himself the third, as is reported in the Life of *Scipio*. In a word, he seem'd ever to make this all his Thought and Philosophy, as the most Kingly part of Learning, other Curiosities he held in no Account. He is reported, when ask'd at a Feast whether he thought *Python* or *Caphisias* the best Musician, to have said *Polysperchon* was the best Souldier, as becoming a King only to enquire and understand such things. Towards his Familiars he was mild, and not easily incensed, forward and ready in answering Kindnesses, so that when *Æropus* was dead, he could not bear it with moderation, saying, he indeed had

How Pyrrhus imitated Alexander the Great.

Writes Commentaries of Military Discipline.

Hannibal's Judgment of Pyrrhus.

What he held the only Philosophy of Kings.

had suffer'd what was common to humane Nature, but condemning and blaming himself, that by puttings off and delays he had not return'd his kindness in time; for our Debts may be satisfy'd to the Creditor's Heirs, but the acknowledgement of receiv'd Favours not paid in, while they to whom it is due can be sensible of it, afflicts a good and a worthy Nature. Some thinking it fit that *Pyrrhus* should banish a certain ill-tongu'd Fellow in *Ambracia* who had spoke very indecently of him; let him rather, said he, spake against me here to a few, than rambling about to a great many. And others who in their Wine had made reflections upon him, being afterward question'd for it, he ask'd them whether they spoke such words; one of the young Fellows told him: Yes, Sir, those very words, and should have said more if we had had more Wine; at which smiling he discharg'd them. After *Antigone's* death he married several Wives to enlarge his Interest and Power. He had the Daughter of *Antoleon* King of *Pæonia*, *Barcenna*, *Bardyllis* the *Illyrian's*, Daughter, *Lanassa* Daughter of *Agathocles* the *Syracusan*, who brought with her in Dowry the City of *Cercyra* taken by *Agathocles*: By *Antigone* he had *Ptolomee*, *Alexander*, by *Lanassa*, and *Helenus* the youngest by *Barcenna*; he brought them up all in Arms, hot and eager Youths,

and

His Marriages and Issue.

and by him sharpened to war from their very ^{His Sons} Infancy. 'Tis said when one of them yet ^{all bred to} a child, ask'd him to which he would leave his ^{War.} Kingdom, he reply'd, to him that had the sharpest Sword, which was much like that Tragical Curse of *Oedipus* to his Sons.

——— *Divide not as the Common Rout,
But with the Sword each cut his portion out.*

So unfociable and brutal are the measures which Ambition takes. After this Battle *Pyrrhus* returning gloriously home, entertain'd himself with the sense of his own Honour and Greatness of Mind, and being call'd Eagle by the *Epirots*: By you (says he) ^{How Pyrrhus accepts the Appellation of an Eagle.} I am an Eagle; for how should I not be such while I am born up by your Arms as on Wings? A little after having Intelligence that *Demetrius* was dangerously sick, he fell on a sudden into *Macedon*, intending only an Incurfion, and to harrafs the Country; but was very near feizing upon all, and taking the Kingdom without a blow: He march'd as far as *Edeffa* unrefisted, great numbers deserting, and coming in to him: This danger excited *Demetrius* beyond his Strength, and his Friends and Commanders in a short time got a considerable Army together, and with all their Forces briskly attack'd *Pyrrhus*, who comming only to pilage would not stand a Fight, but retreating
lost

Vast Preparation of Demetrius.

lost part of his Army, as he went off, by the close pursuit of the *Macedonians*. *Demetrius* although he had easily and quickly forc'd *Pyrrhus* out of the Country; yet did not slight him, but having resolv'd upon great Designs, and to recover his Father's Kingdom with an Army of 100000 men, and 500 Sail of Ships, would neither embroil himself with *Pyrrhus*, nor leave the *Macedonians* so active and troublesome a Neighbour; and since he had no leisure to continue the War with him, was willing to treat and conclude a Peace, and to turn his Forces upon the other Kings: Articles being agreed upon, the Designs of *Demetrius* quickly discover'd themselves by the greatness of his preparation. And the other Kings being alarm'd, sent to *Pyrrhus* Ambassadors and Letters, expressing their wonder that he losing so fair an Occasion, would rather stay till *Demetrius* was ready to fight, and being now able to chase him out of *Macedon*, involv'd in designs and disturb'd, would expect till he were at Leisure, and grown greater, and bring the War home to his own door, and fight for their Temples and Sepulchres in *Molossia*: Especially having so lately by his means lost *Cercyra* and his Wife together. For *Lanassa* had taken offence at *Pyrrhus* for too great an inclination to those Wives of his

his that were *Barbarians*, and so withdrew to *Cercyra*, and desiring to marry some King, invited *Demetrius*, knowing of all the Kings, he was most ready to entertain an offer of Marriage from fair Ladies; so he sail'd thither, marry'd *Lanassa*, and plac'd a Garrison in the City. The Kings having writ thus to *Pyrrhus*, did themselves likewise find *Demetrius* work, while he was delaying and making his preparations; *Ptolemee* setting out with a great Fleet, drew off many of the *Greek Cities*, *Lyfimachus* out of *Thrace* wasted the upper *Macedon*, *Pyrrhus* also taking Arms with these, march'd to *Beræa*, expecting, (as it fell out) that *Demetrius* drawing his Forces against *Lyfimachus* would leave the lower Country without Supplies. That very Night he seem'd in his Sleep to be call'd by *Alexander* the Great, and approaching saw him sick a-bed, but was receiv'd with very kind Words and much Respect, and promis'd a suddain assistance: He making bold to reply; How, Sir, can you being sick assist me? With my Name, says he, and mounting a *Nisæan* Horse seem'd to lead the way: At the sight of this Vision he was much assur'd, and with swift Marches over-running all the Interjacent Places, takes *Beræa*, and making his Head Quarters there, reduc'd the rest of the Country by his Commanders: When *De-*

C *metrius*

metrius receiv'd Intelligence of this, and perceiv'd likewise the *Macedonians* ready to mutiny in the Army, he was afraid to advance farther, lest coming near *Lyfimachus*, a *Macedonian* King, and of great Fame, they should revolt to him. So returning, he march'd directly against *Pyrrhus*, as a Stranger and hated by the *Macedonians*; while he lay encamp'd there by him, many coming out of *Beræa* infinitely prais'd *Pyrrhus* as one invincible in Arms, a very illustrious Prince, and treating those he had taken kindly and obligingly; several of these *Pyrrhus* himself sent privately, pretending themselves *Lacedæmonians*, and saying, now was the time to be deliver'd from the severe Government of *Demetrius*, by coming over to *Pyrrhus*, a gracious Prince, and a lover of Soldiers: By this Artifice a great part of the Army was mov'd, and looking every way about, sought for *Pyrrhus*. It hapn'd he was without his Helmet, till understanding they did not know him, he put it on again, and so was quickly remark'd by his lofty Crest, and the Goat's horns he wore upon it; Then the *Macedonians* running to him, desir'd the Word, others clap'd Oak-boughs upon their Heads, because they saw them worn by the Soldiers about him. Some took the confidence to say to *Demetrius* himself, that he would be well advis'd

*The Army
of Demetrius
revolts to
Pyrrhus.*

advis'd to withdraw, and lay down the Government. And he indeed finding the Mutinous humour of the Army agreeable to that sort of Discourse, privately got away disguis'd in an old Hat, and a common red Coat. So *Pyrrhus* became Master of the Army without fighting, and was declar'd King of the *Macedonians*. But *Lyfimachus* now arriving, and affirming the defeat of *Demetrius*, was in common perform'd by both, and that the Kingdom ought to be shar'd between them, *Pyrrhus* not extremely assur'd of the *Macedonians*, and in doubt of their Faith, consented to the Proposition of *Lyfimachus*, and divided the Country and Cities between them accordingly. This was for the present useful, and prevented a War; but shortly after they found the partition not so much an avoidance of dissatisfactions, as an occasion of more Complaint and Difference. For to such whose Ambition neither Seas nor Mountains, nor the forsaken Deserts can limit, nor the bounds dividing *Europe* from *Asia*, confine their vast desires; 'tis hard to say how they should forbear injuring one another, when they touch, and are close together. These are ever naturally in War, envying and seeking advantages of one another; They make use of those two Words, Peace and War, as of Money, not so much

C 2 guided

Himself escapes with difficulty, in a mean disguise.

Ambitious Princes ill Neighbours.

guided by Justice, as when it falls out to be for their Interest, and are really better men when they openly enter on a War, than when they give to the meer forbearance of doing wrong only for want of opportunity, the sacred Names of Justice and Friendship. *Pyrrhus* was an instance of this, for setting himself against the rise of *Demetrius* again, and endeavouring to hinder the recovery of his Power, as it were from a kind of Sickness, assisted the *Greeks*, and came to *Athens*, where having ascended the *Acropolis*, and offer'd Sacrifice to the Goddess, and the same day came down again, told the *Athenians* he was much pleas'd with their kindness, and the confidence they had of him; but if they were wise, advis'd them never to let any King come thither again, or open their City Gates to him; he concluded also a Peace with *Demetrius*, but a little after he was gone into *Asia*, at the perswasion of *Lysimachus* tamper'd with the *Thessalians* to revolt, and besieg'd his Cities in *Greece*; finding he could make better use of the *Macedonians* in War than in Peace, and being of his own Inclination not much given to rest; at last having routed *Demetrius* in *Lycia*, *Lysimachus* who had secur'd his Affairs, and nothing to do, immediately turn'd his Forces upon *Pyrrhus*, who was in Quarters at *Edeffa*,

Pyrrhus
his Advice
to the *A-*
thenians.

Edessa, and falling upon and seizing his Convoy of Provisions, brought first a great Scarcity into the Army, then partly by Letters, partly by spreading Rumours abroad, he corrupted the principal Officers of the *Macedonians*, reproaching them they had made on their Master who was both a Stranger, and descended from those who had ever been Servants to the *Macedonians*, and thrust the old Friends and Families of *Alexander* out of the Country: The *Macedonian* Soldiers being much prevail'd upon, *Pyrrhus* withdrew himself with his *Epirots* and Auxiliary Forces, relinquishing *Macedon* just after the same manner he took it: Thus Kings have no reason to condemn the People changing for their Interest, who in that do but imitate them, as the great Instructors of Unfaithfulness and Treachery; holding him the bravest that makes the least Account of being an honest man. *Pyrrhus* having thus retir'd into *Epirus*, and left *Macedon*, Fortune gave him a fair occasion of enjoying himself in quiet, and peaceably governing his own Subjects; but he who thought it a nauseous Course of Life, not to be doing mischief to others, or receiving some from them, as *Achilles* could not endure repose,

The Macedonians revolt from Pyrrhus, just as they had done before from Demetrius.

Pyrrhus uneasie without War.

———But languish'd there,
When left alone, desiring Noise and War,

The Occasi-
on of his
War with
the Ro-
mans.

serv'd his inclination of this pretence of new business. The *Romans* were in War with the *Tarentines*, who not able to go on with the War, nor yet give it over, by reason of the bold and ill advis'd Harangues of Popular men, desir'd to make *Pyrrhus* their General, and ingage him in this War, as of all the Neighbouring Kings the most at leisure, and the greatest Souldier. The more grave and discreet Citizens opposing these Counsels, were run down by the noise and violence of the Multitude; which when they saw, they came no more into the Assemblies; only one *Meton* a very sober man, the day this Publick Decree was to be ratif'd, and the People all plac'd; like one quite drunk, with a wither'd Garland and a Torch in his hand, and a Woman playing on a Flagellet before him, came dancing into the Assembly; and as in great Multitudes met at such popular Assemblies, no *decorum* can be well observ'd; some clap'd him up, others laught, none forbid him, but call'd to the Woman to play, and him to sing to the Company, and when they thought they went about it; 'Tis very well done of you
(says

(says he) *Tarentines*, not to hinder any from making themselves merry that have a mind to it, while it is yet in your power, and if you are wise you will still keep and enjoy this Freedom, for you must change your course of Live, and eat other Diet when *Pyrrhus* comes to Town. These words made a strange impresson upon many of the *Tarentines*, and a confus'd Murmur went about, that he had spoke much to the purpose; but some who fear'd they should be sacrific'd if a Peace were made with the *Romans*, revil'd the whole Assembly for so tamely suffering themselves to be abus'd by a lewd drunken Sot, and crowding together upon *Meton*, thrust him out; so the Publick Order was pass'd, and Ambassadors sent into *Epirus*, not only in their own Names, but of all the *Italic Greeks*, carrying Presents to *Pyrrhus*, and letting him know they wanted a General of Fame and experience, that they could furnish him with very great Forces made up of *Lucanians*, *Messapians*, *Samnites*, and *Tarentines* amounting to 20000 Horse, and 350000 Foot: This did not only quicken *Pyrrhus*, but rais'd an eager desire of this War in the *Epirots*. There was one *Cineas* a *Thessalian*, a man in appearance of very good Sense, a Disciple of the great Orator *Demosthenes*, and of all who were in

the highest Fame at that time for speaking well, seem'd as in a Picture, to revive most in the minds of the Audience the memory of his huge force and vigour of Eloquence, and being always about *Pyrrhus*, and by him imploy'd to several Cities, confirm'd that of *Euripides*,

— *That force of Weighty Words
Can outdo all that's done by conquering Swords.*

*Pyrrhus
his great
Esteem of
Eloquence.*

And *Pyrrhus* was us'd to say, that *Cineas* had taken more Towns with his Words, than he with his Arms, and always did him the honour to use him in his most important occasions: This Person seeing *Pyrrhus* with all diligence preparing for *Italy*, entertain'd him one day at leisure with this kind of discourse: The *Romans*, Sir, are reported to be great Warriours and Conquerors of many warlike Nations; If God permit us to overcome them, how should we use our Victory? Thou askest (said *Pyrrhus*) a thing of it self evident.

*Cineas re-
presents to
Pyrrhus, he
had all that
already,
which he
sought by
the labours
and haz-
ards of
War.*

The *Romans* once conquer'd, there is neither *Greek* or Barbarous City will resist us, but we shall presently be Masters of all *Italy*, whose Greatness, and Force, and Strength it is more fit any should be ignorant of, than your self. *Cineas* after a little Pause, and having subdu'd *Italy*, what shall we do next? *Pyrrhus* not yet discovering his intention;

tention; *Sicily*, reply'd next he holds out her Arms to receive us, a fortunate and populous Island, and easie to be gain'd; For since *Agathocles* left it, Faction and Anarchy, and the licentious humour of the *Demagogues* only prevails. You speak, says *Cineas*, what is hugely probable, but shall the possession of *Sicily* put an end to the War? God grant us (answer'd *Pyrrhus*) Victory and Success in that, we will use these as fore-runners of greater things, who can forbear *Libya* and *Carthage* then within reach? which *Agathocles* even when forc'd to fly from *Syracuse*, and passing the Sea only with a few Ships, had almost surpriz'd. These Conquests once perfected, will any deny, even that Enemy who now pretends to despise us, dare not make any further resistance? None, reply'd *Cineas*, for then 'tis manifest we may with such mighty Forces regain *Macedon*, and make an absolute Conquest of *Greece*, and when all these are in our power, what shall we do then? Said *Pyrrhus* smiling, we'll live at our ease, my dear Friend, and drink all day, and divert our selves with pleasant discourse. When *Cineas* had lead *Pyrrhus* with this Argument to this Point: And what hinders us now, Sir, if we have a mind to be merry, and entertain on another? Since all things necessary for it are
at

at hand without trouble, to which through much bloud and great labour, and infinite hazzards, we design at last to arrive? With this talk he rather afflicted *Pyrrhus* under the consideration of what happiness he lost, than any way alter'd his purpose, being unable to quit the hopes of what he so much desir'd. And first, he sent away *Cineas* to the *Tarentines* with 3000 men; presently after, many Vessels for Transportation of Horse, Gallies, and flat bottom'd Boats of all sorts arriving from *Tarentum*, he ship'd upon them 20 Elephants, 3000 Horse, 20000 Foot, 2000 Archers, and 500 Slingers: All thus in readiness he set Sail, and being half Seas over, was driven with the Winds blowing hard at Nore (contrary to the Season of the Year) and forc'd to Leeward; but by the great skill and resolution of his Officers and Seamen he bore with the Land, and kept the *Italian* Shore with infinite Labour, and beyond Expectation; the rest of the Fleet could not get up, and some of the dispers'd Ships being beaten off from the Coast of *Italy*, were driven into the *Libyan* and *Cicilian* Sea; others not able to double the Cape of *Japygium*, were overtaken by the Night, and a very boysterous and grown Sea, throwing them upon a dangerous and rocky Shore, they were all very much disabled, except the Admi-

Pyrrhus
his Fleet
dispers'd by
Storm.

Admiral; and ſhe while the Sea bore upon her Sides, reſiſted with her Bulk and Strength, and avoided the force of it, till the wind coming about, blew directly in their Teeth from the Shore, and the Veſſel keeping up with her Head againſt it, was in danger of opening by the raking of the Sea over her; on the other hand to ſuffer themſelves to be driven off to Sea again, which was very raging and tempeſtuous, and the Wind ſhifting about every way, ſeem'd to them the moſt dreadfull of all their preſent Evils. *Pyrrhus* riſing up threw himſelf over-board, and his Friends and Guards ſtrove eagerly who ſhould be moſt ready to help him, but Night and the Sea with its mighty roaring and breaking off again from the Shore made it extream difficult to ſave him; ſo that hardly by daylight the Wind being quite laid he got a-
Himſelf in
Great danger.
 Shore almoſt breathleſs, and indeed hugely weak'ned in Body, but with high courage and ſtrength of Mind reſiſting his hard Fortune; the *Maſſapians*, upon whoſe Shore they were thrown by the Tempeſt, run with all diligence to help them in the beſt manner they could, and met with ſome of the ſtraggl'g Veſſels that had eſcap'd the Storm; in which were a very few Horſe, and not quite 2000 Foot, and two Elephants; with theſe *Pyrrhus* march'd ſtreight
 to

*His severe
Discipline
unpleasing
to the Ta-
rentines.*

to *Tarentum*, and *Cineas* being inform'd of his Arrival, drew out his Forces to meet him; when he enter'd the Town, he did nothing unpleasing to the *Tarentines*, nor put any force upon them, till his Ships were all in Harbour, and the greatest part of the Army got together; then considering the People as neither able to preserve themselves nor secure others, unless they were necessitated to it, and intending, while he engaged for them in the Field, to remain at home bathing and feasting themselves; he first shut up the Places of Publick Exercise, and their Walks, where vainly solicitous they fought for their Country only in discourse of Wars; he prohibited likewise all Solemn Festivals, Revels and Jollities as unseasonable, and call'd them to Arms, being most severe and inflexible in Listing men fit for Action and Service. Upon which many left the Town, unaccustomed to such a Discipline, calling it mere Slavery not to live in Pleasures. He now received Intelligence that *Levinus* the Roman Consul was upon his March with a great Army, and plundering *Lucania* as he went. The Confederate Forces were not come up to him, yet he thought it very indecent to suffer so near an approach of an Enemy, and neglect it; and drew out with his Army, but first sent an Herald to the *Romans* to know

know if before the War they would decide the differences between them and the *Italicks* by a course of Justice, and make use of his Mediation to determine them; but *Levinus* returning Answer, that the *Romans* neither accepted him as Arbitrator, nor fear'd him as an Enemy, *Pyrrhus* advanc'd, and Encamp'd in the Plain between the Cities of *Pandosia* and *Heracléa*, and having notice the *Romans* were near, and lay on the other side of the River *Lyrus*, he rode up to take a view of them, and seeing the Order, the appointment of the Watches, the Excellent Form, and, in a word, the whole Scheme of their Encampment, he was amaz'd, and calling one of his Friends next to him; This Order, says he, *Megacles*, of a Barbarous Nation, is not at all Barbarous, we shall see afterward what they can do; and growing a little more thoughtful of the Event, resolv'd to expect the arriving of the Confederate Troops. And to hinder the *Romans* (if in the mean time they should endeavour to pass the River) he planted men all along the Bank to oppose them, but they hast'ning to prevent the coming up of those Forces he look'd for, attempted the Passage with their Infantry, where it was fordable, the Horse getting over in several places, so that the *Greeks* fearing to be surrounded, were oblig'd

Pyrrhus
his Judg-
ment of the
Roman's
Encamping.

*His first
Engage-
ment with
them.*

*His Cou-
rage with-
out Passion.*

lig'd to retreat; which *Pyrrhus* understanding was hugely surpriz'd, and commanded his Foot Officers to range their men in *Battalia*, and continue in Arms, himself with 3000 Horse advanc'd, hoping to attack the *Romans* as they were coming over, scatter'd and disorder'd; but when he saw a vast number of Shields appearing above the water, and the Horse following them in good order, drawing up his men in a closer Body, himself in the Head of them began the Charge; he was very remarkable by the bravery and Glistering of his Arms, which were exceeding rich, but more by the things he did there, which gave signal proof that his Fame had not out-gone what he was able effectually to perform; but especially when exposing his hands and Body to the Fight, he bravely repell'd all that engag'd him, managing the Battel with a steady and undisturb'd Reason, and such a presence of mind, as if he had been quite out of any Action himself, flying from place to place, and assisting those whom he thought most oppress'd by the Enemy. Here *Leonatus* a *Macedonian*, observing one of the *Italians* very intent upon *Pyrrhus*, riding up towards him, and changing places as he did, and moving as he mov'd: Do you see, Sir, said he, that *Barbarian* on the black Horse with white feet?

feet? he seems to me one that designs some great and dangerous thing; he looks constantly at you, attends on you only full of Fury and Violence, and takes no notice of others; Good Sir, have a care of that Fellow. *Leonatus*, said *Pyrrhus*, it is impossible for any man to avoid his Fate; but neither he nor any other *Italian* shall have much satisfaction in ingaging with me. While they were in this discourse, the *Italian* placing his Spear and quickning his Horse rid furiously at *Pyrrhus*, and run his Horse through with his Launce; at the same Instance *Leonatus* ran his through, both Horses falling. *Pyrrhus* his Friends surrounded him and brought him off safe, and kill'd the *Italian*, bravely defending himself. He was by Birth a *Tarentine*; Captain of a Troop, and nam'd *Oplacus*. This made *Pyrrhus* use greater caution, and now seeing his Horse give Ground, he brought up the Infantry and rang'd them in order, and then changing his Robe and his Arms with *Megacles* one of his Friends, and obscuring as it were himself in his, charg'd upon the *Romans*, who receiv'd and engag'd him, and a great while the Success of the Battle remain'd undetermin'd; and 'tis said there were seven Turns of Fortune both of pursuing and being pursu'd: This change of his Arms was very
opportune

opportune for the safety of his Person, but had like to have overthrown his Affairs, and lost him the Victory; for several falling upon *Megacles*, the first that gave him his mortal wound was one *Dexter*, who snatching away his Helmet and his Robe, rid presently to *Levinus*, holding them up, and saying aloud he had kill'd *Pyrrhus*. These Spoils being carried about, and shown among the particular Ranks, the *Romans* were transported with Joy, and gave a huge Shout, but mightily discouraged and terrified the *Greeks*. *Pyrrhus* understanding what had hap'ned, rid about the Army with his face bare, stretching out his hand to his Souldiers, and telling them aloud it was He. At last the Elephants principally distress'd the *Romans*, their Horses, before they came near, not enduring them, went back with their Riders; upon which he commanded the *Thessalian* Cavalry to charge them in this disorder, and gave them a total rout with great effusion of Blood. *Dionysius* affirms near 15000 fell of the *Romans*. *Hieronimus*, no more than 7000. On *Pyrrhus's* side, the same *Dionysius* makes 13000 slain, the other under 3000; but they were the flower of his men, as well of his particular Friends as Officers in whom he always most confided, and made use of in greatest occasions: Beside, he possess'd himself of the
Romans

The Ro-
 man Army
 routed.

Romans Camp which they deserted, and drew off several Confederate Cities, and wasted the Country round about, and advanc'd so far, that he was within about 37 Miles of *Rome* it self. After the Fight many of the *Lucanes* and *Sannites* came in and join'd him, he chid them for their delay, and appear'd extreamly satisf'd and rais'd in his thoughts that he had defeated so great an Army of the *Romans* with the assistance of the *Tarentines* alone. But the *Romans* did not remove *Levinus* from the Consulship, (it being reported *Caius Fabritius* should say, That the *Epirots* had not overcome the *Romans*, but *Pyrrhus* had only the better of *Levinus*: insinuating their loss was not through want of Valour, but Conduct) but fill'd up their Legions, and list'd presently fresh men, talking high and boldly of War; which struck *Pyrrhus* with amazement. He thought it advisable, by sending first to make an experiment, whether they had any inclination to treat, thinking that to take the City and make an absolute Conquest, was no work for such an Army as his was at that time, but to settle a Friendship and bring them to terms, would be highly honourable after his Victory. *Cineas* was dispatch'd away, and apply'd himself to several of the Great Ones, with Presents for themselves and

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their

They not at all discourag'd.

*They refuse
Pyrrhus
his Presents
and Offers
of Peace.*

their Ladies from the King; but not a Person would receive any, and answer'd as well Men as Women, That if any Agreement were publickly concluded, they should be ready for their parts to express all Respect and Service to the King; and *Cineas* discoursing with the Senate the most soft and obliging things in the World, yet was not heard with kindness or inclination, although *Pyrrhus* offer'd also to return all he had taken in the Fight without ransom, and promising his assistance for the entire Conquest of all *Italy*, asking for himself only their Friendship, and Security for the *Tarentines*, and nothing farther: Many seem'd well inclin'd to a Peace, having already receiv'd one great Defeat, and fearing another from an additional Force of the *Italick Greeks* joyning with *Pyrrhus*. Here

*Appius
Claudius
his Speech
against a
Peace with
Pyrrhus.*

Appius Claudius, a man of great Honour, but who in respect of his Age and want of Sight not intermeddling with Affairs, declin'd the fatigue of Publick Business: after these Propositions had been made by the King, hearing a report that the Senate was ready to vote the Conditions of Peace, could not forbear, but commanding his Servants to take him up, was carried in his Chair through the *Forum* to the Senate House; when he was set down at the door, his Sons, and Sons-in-law took him up in their Arms,

Arms, and going all close round about him, brought him into the Senate: Out of reverence of so worthy a man, the whole Assembly was respectfully silent, and he a little after rising up himself; I bore, says he, until this time the misfortune of my Eyes with some impatience, but now having heard of those unhandsome Debates and Resolves of yours, and so dishonourable to the Glory of *Rome*; it is my great affliction, that being already blind, I am not deaf too: Where is now that Discourse, of yours that has made such a noise in the World, that if *He* had come into *Italy*, the Great *Alexander*, and dar'd to attack us when we were young men, or our Fathers, who were then flourishing, he had not now been celebrated Invincible, but either flying hence, or falling here, had left *Rome* more Glorious? You demonstrate now all that was but foolish Arrôgance and Vanity by your fears of the *Molossians* and *Chaonians*, ever the *Macedonian's* Prey, and trembling at *Pyrrhus*, who was himself but an humble Servant to one of *Alexander's* Life-guard; and here, not so much to assist the *Greeks* that inhabit among us, as flying from his Enemies at home, he ranges about *Italy*, and dares promise you the Conquest of it all by that Army which has not been able to preserve for him a little part of *Ma-*

cedon: And do not perswade your selves, that making him your Friend is the way to be rid of him, but to bring more Forces over, contemning you as easie to be reduc'd, if *Pyrrhus* goes off without doing you reason for the Affront he has put upon you; nay, receiving also this reward, of having render'd even the *Tarentines* and *Samnites* capable of laughing at the *Romans*. When *Appius* had done, every man was eager for War, and *Cineas* dismiss'd with this Answer, That when *Pyrrhus* had drawn his Forces out of *Italy*, then if he pleas'd, they would treat with him about Friendship and Alliance, but while he staid there in Arms, they were resolv'd to prosecute the War against him with all their Force, though he should have defeated 1000 *Levinus's*. 'Tis said, that *Cineas* while he was managing this Affair, made it his Business, with an exact Care to inspect the manners of the *Romans*, and perfectly understand their Methods of Government. Afterwards in discourse with the Grandees of the Court, he told *Pyrrhus*, among other things, the Senate seem'd to him an Assembly of Kings, and for the People, he fear'd least they should be thought to fight with the *Hydra*, or Serpent of *Lerna fen*; for the Consul had already rais'd twice as great an Army as the former

The Romans reject all Overtures of Peace till *Pyrrhus* be first gone out of *Italy*.

The Roman Senate.

former, and there were a great many times over the same number of *Romans* able to bear Arms. Then *Caius Fabritius* Caius Fabritius. came in Ambassy from the *Romans* to treat about the Prisoners that were taken, one whom *Cineas* had reported to be a man of highest consideration among them for a right honest man and a great Soldier, but extreamly poor. *Pyrrhus* receiv'd him with much Kindness, and privately would have perswaded him to accept of his Gold, not for any evil purpose, but calling it an Argument of Respect and hospitable Civility; upon *Fabritius's* refusal, he press'd him no farther, but the next day having a mind to discompose him, who had never seen an Elephant before, commanded one of the largest compleatly arm'd to be placed behind the Hangings, as they were talking together, which being done, upon a Sign given, the Hanging was drawn aside, and the Elephant raising his Trunk over the head of *Fabritius*, made an horrid and ugly noise; He gently turning about and smiling, said to *Pyrrhus*, Neither your Money yesterday, nor this Beast to day make any Impression upon me. At Supper amongst all sorts of things that were discours'd, but more particularly of *Greece*, and of the Philosophy there, *Cineas* by accident had occasion to speak of *Epicurus*, and explain'd

Contemns Riches, though extreamly poor,

what they held about the Gods and the Commonwealth, placing the chief Happiness of Man in Pleasure, and declining Publick Affairs as an Injury and Disturbance of an happy Life; removing the Gods afar off both from Kindness or Anger, or any Concern for us at all, to a life wholly without Business and flowing in Pleasures. Before he had done speaking, *Fabritius* cry'd out, O *Hercules*! said he, to *Pyrrhus*, may *Pyrrhus* and the *Samnites* entertain themselves with this sort of Opinions as long as they are in War with us. *Pyrrhus* admiring the Wisdom and Gravity of the man, was the more transported with desire of making Friendship instead of War with the City, and apart intreated him, after the Peace should be concluded, to accept of living with him as his Chief Minister of State, and *Generalissimo* of his Armies. *Fabritius* told him softly, Sir, this will not be for your advantage, for they who now honour and admire you, when they have had experience of me, will rather chuse to be govern'd by me, than by you, so great a man was *Fabritius*. *Pyrrhus* heard him say this unmov'd, and without any Tyrannick Passion; nay, among his Friends highly commended the great mind of *Fabritius*; and Entrusted the Prisoners to him alone, on Condition, that if

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Much admir'd by
Pyrrhus.

the Senate should not vote a Peace, after they had convers'd with their Friends, and celebrated the Festivals of *Saturn*, they should be remanded, and accordingly they were sent back after the Holy-days; It being Decreed pain of death for any that stay'd behind. After this *Fabritius* taking the Consulate, a Person came with a Letter to the Camp, writ by the King's principal Physician, offering to take off *Pyrrhus* by Poyson, and so end the War without farther hazard to the *Romans*, if he might have a Reward proportionable to his Service. *Fabritius* enrag'd at the Villainy of the man, and disposing the other Consul to the same Opinion, sent dispatches immediately to *Pyrrhus* to caution him against the Treason. His Letter was to this effect; *Caius Fabritius* and *Quintus Æmilius*, Consuls of the *Romans*, to *Pyrrhus* the King, Health. You seem to have made a very ill Judgment, both of your Friends and Enemies. You will understand by reading this Letter sent to us, That you are in War with honest men, and trust Villains and Knaves; we have not discover'd this to you to insinuate into your Favour, but lest your ruine might bring a reproach upon us, as if we had ended the War by treachery, not as able to do it by force: When *Pyrrhus* had read the Letter, and made

*Discovers
to Pyrrhus
a Design to
poyson him.*

A second
Engage-
ment with
the Ro-
mans.

strict Enquiry into the Treason, he Executed the Physician, and for acknowledgment of this Civility of the *Romans*, sent to *Rome* the Prisoners without Ransom, and again imploy'd *Cineas* to negotiate a Peace for him: but whether they believ'd it too great a kindness from an Enemy, or too great a Reward of not doing an ill thing to accept their Prisoners so, released to them as many of the *Tarentines* and *Samnites*; but would admit of no debate of Alliance or Peace till he had removed his Arms and Forces out of *Italy*, and sail'd back to *Epirus* in the same Ships that brought him over: After, his Affairs bringing on a second Fight, when he had refresh'd his men, he decamp'd, and meeting the *Romans* about the City *Asculum*, being incommoded by a woody Country, unfit for his Horse, and a very swift Current of the River, that the Elephants, for want of sure treading, could not get up with the Infantry: After many wounded and many killed, the Night put an end to the Engagement; next day designing to make the Fight on even Ground, and have the Elephants among the thickest of the Enemy, he caus'd a Detachment to possess themselves of those incommodious Grounds, and mixing Slingers and Archers among the Elephants with great Courage and

and Fury, he advanc'd in a close and well order'd Body; and the *Romans* not having those advantages of retreating and falling on as they pleas'd, which they had before, were oblig'd to fight man to man upon plain Ground, and hastning to disorder the main Battel before the Elephants could get up, they made bloody work with their Swords among the *Macedonian* Spears, not sparing themselves in the least; to wound and kill was all their thought, without regard of what they suffer'd: after a long and obstinate Fight, the first giving Ground is reported to have been where *Pyrrhus* himself engag'd with extraordinary Courage; but they were most put to it by the mighty Force of the Elephants, the *Romans* not being able to make use of their Valours, but as it were overthrown by the irruption of a Sea or an Earthquake, thinking it better to give way than die without doing any thing, and not gain the least advantage by suffering the utmost Extremity; the Retreat to their Camp not being far. *Hieronymus* says, there died Six Thousand of the *Romans*, of *Pyrrhus* his men, the King's own Commentaries report 3550 lost in this Action. *Dionysius* of *Halicarnasse* neither gives an account of two Engagements at *Asculum*, nor allows the *Romans* were certainly beaten, and that once only after they

Pyrrhus's
Reply to one
that gave
him Joy of
his Victory.

they had fought till Sun-set, both Armies were unwillingly separated by the Night. *Pyrrhus* being wounded by a Javelin in the Arm, and his Baggage plunder'd by the *Samnites*, that in all there died of *Pyrrhus* his men and the *Romans* above 15000, and then both retreated. 'Tis said, *Pyrrhus* reply'd to a Gentleman that gave him the Joy of his Victory; That such another would utterly undo him; for he had lost a great part of the Forces he brought with him, and almost all his particular Friends and principal Commanders: There were no others there to make Recruits, and he saw the Confederates very slow in their motion. On the other hand, as from a Fountain continually flowing out of the City, the *Roman* Camp was quickly and plentifully filled up with fresh men; not at all abating in Courage for the losses they sustain'd, but even from their very anger gain'd new Force and Resolution to go on with the War. Among these difficulties he fell again into vain hopes and businesses that hugely distracted his Mind; for at the same time some Persons arrived from *Sicily*, offering into his hands the Cities of *Agrigentum* and *Syracuse*, and that of the *Leontines*, and begging his assistance to expulse the *Carthaginians*, and rid the Island of Tyrants; Others brought him News out of

of Greece, that *Ptolome* call'd *Ceraunus*, was slain in a Fight, and his Army cut in pieces by the *Gauls*, and that if he came now in time, the *Macedonians* were at a great loss for a King. Here he began extreamly to accuse Fortune for bringing him so many occasions of great things all together at a time, and considering that by grasping at both, he should lose one of them, was a long time balancing in his thoughts: But the Affairs of *Sicily* seeming to promise him matter of the greater business, *Africa* lying so near, he turn'd himself to them, and presently dispatch'd away *Cineas* (as he used to do) to make Terms before-hand with the Cities. Then he plac'd a Garrison in *Tarentum*, infinitely against their Wills, and requiring him either to perform what he came for, and continue with them in a War against the *Romans*, or leave the City as he found it, he return'd, no pleasing Answer, but commanded them to be quiet and attend his time, and so sail'd away. Being arriv'd in *Sicily*, what he had design'd in his hopes, was confirm'd effectually, and the Cities frankly surrendred to him. Where-ever his Arms and Force were necessary, nothing at first made any considerable resistance, for arriving with 30000 Foot, and 2500 Horse, and 200 Ships, he totally routed the *Phenicians*, and over-

Pyrrhus
goes into
Sicily.

turn'd

The mighty
personal
Valour of
Pyrrhus.

The Ma-
mertines.

turn'd their whole Government; *Eryx* being the strongest Town they held, and having a great Garrison in it, he resolv'd to take it by Storm: The Army being in readiness to give the Assault, he put on his Arms, and coming into the head of his men, made a Vow of Plays and Sacrifices to *Hercules* in Honour, if he signaliz'd himself in that day's Action before the *Greeks* that dwelt in *Sicily*, as became his great Descent and his Fortunes. The Sign being given by sound of Trumpet, he dissipated first the *Barbarians* with his Shot, and then brought his Ladders to the Wall, and was the first that mounted upon it himself, and the Enemy appearing in great Numbers, he beat them back, some he threw down from the Walls on each side, others he laid dead in a heap round about him with his Sword, nor did he receive the least wound, but seem'd very terrible in his Aspect to the Enemy; and gave a clear Demonstration that *Homer* was in the right, and pronounc'd according to the truth of Fact; that Fortitude alone of all the Virtues is often inspir'd with Furious and Enthusiastick Transports. The City being taken he offer'd to *Hercules* most magnificently, and exhibited all Varieties of Shows and Plays. A sort of Barbarous People about *Mesena*, call'd *Mamertines*, gave

gave much trouble to the *Greeks*, and put several of them under Contribution. These being numerous and valiant (from whence they had their Name, as much as to say, *Martial* in the Latin Tongue) he first intercepted the Collectors of the Contribution-Money, and cut them off, then beat them in open Fight, and destroy'd many of their Places of Strength. The *Carthaginians* being now inclin'd to Composition, and offering him a round Summ of Money, and to furnish him with Shipping, if a Peace were concluded, he told them plainly (aspiring still to greater things) there was one way for a Friendship and right understanding between them, if they wholly abandoning *Sicily*, he would consent the *African* Sea should be the limit between them and the *Greeks*. And being heightned with his good Fortune and the Strength of his Forces, and pursuing those hopes, in prospect of which he first sail'd thither, his chief aim was at *Africk*: He had abundance of Shipping but very ill Equipp'd, and when he began to press Seamen, not carrying himself fairly and obligingly towards the Cities, but forcing them in an haughty and insolent way, and menacing them with punishments; whereas at first he was not so, but more winning than any other, by a sweet manner of Converse,

Pyrrhus
disobliges
the Sicilians.
ready

ready to believe, and uneasie to none; now of a Popular Prince, becoming a Tyrant by this severe proceeding, he got the name of an ungrateful and a faithleis man. However they gave way to these things as necessary, although they took them very ill from him; and especially when he entertain'd a Suspicion of *Thion* and *Sostratus*, men of the first Quality in *Syracuse*, who invited him over into *Sicily*, and when he was come, put the Cities into his power, and were most instrumental in all he had done there since his Arrival, and would neither suffer them to be about his Person, nor leave them at home. *Sostratus* out of fear withdrew himself, then he charg'd *Thion* as in a Conspiracy with t'other, and put him to death; and now the Scene of his Affairs was chang'd, not by little and little, nor yet all at once, but a mortal hatred being rais'd in the Cities against him, some fell off to the *Carthaginians*, others call'd in the *Mamertines*, and seeing Revolts in all places, and desires of Alteration, and a Potent Faction against him, he receiv'd Letters from the *Samnites* and *Tarentines*, who were beaten quite out of the Field, and scarce left able to secure their Towns against the War, earnestly begging his help: This serv'd as a Colour to make his relinquishing *Sicily*, no Flight, nor a Despair

*They revolt
from him.*

*He is call'd
over again
into Italy.*

spair of good Success, but in truth, not being able to keep it, which was as a Ship labouring in a Storm, and willing to be out of her, he suddenly threw himself over into *Italy*. 'Tis reported that at his going off, he look'd back upon the Island, and said to those about him, How brave a Field of War do we leave, my Masters, for the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* to fight in, which as he then conjectur'd fell out indeed not long after. When he was just ready to Sail, the *Barbarians* having conspir'd together, he was forc'd to a Fight with the *Carthaginians* in the very Road, and lost many of his Ships, with the rest he fled into *Italy*. There were about 1000 *Mamertines* had cross'd the Sea a little before, but afraid to engage him in open Field, only setting upon him where the Passages were difficult, put the whole Army in Confusion, two Elephants fell, and a great part of his Rear was cut off; he therefore coming up in Person, repuls'd the Enemy, but was hugely in danger, among men train'd long in War and enrag'd: his being wounded in the Head with a Sword, and retiring a little out of the Fight, had heightned the Enemy, one of which, advancing a good way before the rest, large of Body, and in bright Armour, with an haughty voice, challeng'd him to come forth, if he were alive:

*His Prophe-
tick
farewel to
Sicily.*

alive: *Pyrrhus* in a great rage, violently turn'd himself among his Guards towards him, and storming and beswear'd with Bloud; he was terrible to look upon, and breaking through his own men, got afore and stroke the *Barbarian* on the Head with his Sword such a blow, as with the strength of his Arm, and the excellent temper of the Weapon, pass'd downward so far, that in a moment, his Body being cut asunder, fell in two peeces; this stop'd the course of the *Barbarians*, amaz'd and confounded at *Pyrrhus*, as one more than man: So that continuing his March all the rest of the way undisturb'd, he arriv'd at *Tarentum* with 20000 Foot, and 3000 Horse; where reinforcing himself with the choicest Troops of the *Tarentines*, he advanc'd immediately against the *Romans*, who then lay encamp'd in the Territories of the *Samnites*, whose Affairs were extreamly shatter'd, and their Councils broken, having been in many Fights beaten by the *Romans*. There was also a discontent among them at *Pyrrhus*, for his Expedition into *Sicily*, so that not many came in to join him: But he divided his Army in two Parts, and commanded the first into *Leucania*, to oppose one of the Consuls there, that he should not come in to assist the other; the rest he led against *Manius Curius*,

rius, who had posted himself very advantageously near *Beneventum*, and expected the other Consul's Forces, and partly, because the Priests had frighted him with ominous Birds and Sacrifices, he resolv'd to remain there. *Pyrrhus* hast'ning to attack these before the other could arrive, with his best men, and the most courageous Elephants, march'd in the Night toward their Camp, but being forc'd to go round about, and through a very woody Country, their Flambeaus fail'd them, and their Soldiers lost their way; a Council of War being call'd, while they were in debate, the Night was spent, and at the break of Day, his approach was discover'd by the Enemy, as they came down the Hills, which put the whole Camp into much disorder and tumult, but the Sacrifices being auspicious, and the time absolutely obliging them to fight, he drew out of the Trenches, and fell in with their Vantguard, and having routed them, all the Army was in a Consternation, so that a great many were cut off, and some of the Elephants taken. This success drew on *Manius* fighting into the Field, and in plain Ground, he totally defeated one Wing of the Enemy; on the other hand, being oppress'd by the Elephants, and forced back to his Trenches, he commanded out those who

*A third
Fight with
the Ro-
mans.*

E

were

The Ro-
mans now
at once gain
both Victo-
ry and Em-
pire.

Pyrrhus
held the
best Soul-
dier of all
Princes of
his Time.

Antigonus
his Chara-
cter of him.

Returns
home out of
Italy.

were left to guard them, standing thick on the Ramparts, all in Arms and fresh men; these coming down from the Fort, and charging the Elephants, forc'd them to retire, and in the Flight turning back upon their own men, caus'd a huge disorder and confusion, which at once brought the Romans both Victory and Empire; for now having got the Fame of Invincible, both for their Conduct, and Courage, and Glory as well in this Action as in a great many others, they soon over-run *Italy*, and not long after *Sicily* too. Thus fell *Pyrrhus* from his *Italian* and *Sicilian* hopes, after he had consum'd six Years in these Wars, and though unsuccessful in his Affairs, yet preserv'd his Courage unconquerable among all these Misfortunes, and was held for Military Experience, and Personal Valour, and Undertaking, much the bravest of all the Princes of his time, but what he got by great Actions, he lost again by vain Hopes, and by new desires of what he had not, kept nothing of what he had: So that *Antigonus* used to compare him to one who at Dice threw excellently well, but knew not how to make the best of his Game: He return'd into *Epirus* with 8000 Foot, and 500 Horse, and for want of Money to pay them, was fain to look out for a new War to maintain the Army. Some
of

of the *Gauls* joining him, he fell into *Macedon*, where *Antigonus*, Son of *Demetrius*, govern'd, designing to plunder and waste the Country, but after he made himself Master of several Towns, and 2000 men came over to him, he began to hope for something greater, and adventured upon *Antigonus* himself, and meeting him at a narrow Passage, called the *Straits*, put the whole Army in disorder, but the *Gauls* who brought up *Antigonus* his Rear, were very numerous and stood firm, and a brisk Fight hapning, the greatest part of them were cut off. They who had the charge of the Elephants, being furrounded every way delivered up both themselves and the Beasts: *Pyrrhus* taking this advantage, and advising more with his good Fortune, than his Reason, boldly set upon the main Body of the *Macedonian* Foot, already surpriz'd with Fear, and troubled at the former loss, so that they declin'd any Action or Engagement with him, and he holding out his Hand, and calling aloud, both to the Superiour and under-Officers by Name, brought over the Foot from *Antigonus*; who flying privately, kept only some of the Sea-Towns. *Pyrrhus* among all these kindnesses of Fortune, thinking what he had effected against the *Gauls* the most advantageous for his Glory, hung up

His fresh Successes there,
Conquers Antigonus,

E 2 their

their richest and goodliest Spoils in the Temple of *Minerva Itōnis* with this Inscription,

These Shields of the brave Gauls, Great Goddess! I

*Offer to Thee, gain'd in full Victory
Over Antigonus. 'Tis no strange thing
For Pyrrhus, who from Æacus does spring.*

After this defeat in the Field, he quickly took in the Cities, and having *Ægis* in his Power, beside other hardships put upon them, he left in the Town a Garrison of *Gauls*, some of those in his own Army, who being insatiably desirous of Wealth, instantly dug up the Tombs of the Kings that lay buried there, and took away the Riches, and insolently scatter'd about their Bones. *Pyrrhus* in appearance made no great matter of it, either deferring it by reason of other extraordinary business, or wholly passing it by, out of a fear of punishing those *Barbarians*; but this made him hear very ill among the *Macedonians*, and his Affairs being yet unsettled, and brought to no firm Consistence, he notwithstanding entertained new visionary hopes, and in raillery call'd *Antigonus* Impudent, that he had not put on a mean Habit, but still wore Purple: *Cleonymus*
the

the *Spartan* arriving and inviting him to *Lacedæmon*, he frankly embrac'd the Over-
 ture, *Cleonymus* was of Royal Descent, but Pyrrhus invited a-
 gainst
 Sparta. seeming too Arbitrary and absolute, had no
 great respect nor credit at home. And
Areus was King there. This was the occasi-
 on of an old and publick grudge between
 him and the Citizens; but beside that *Cle-
 onymus* in his old Age had married a young
 Lady of great Beauty and Royal Bloud,
Chelidonis Daughter of *Leſtychides*, who
 falling desperately in Love with *Acrotatus*,
Areus his Son, a Youth gay and airy, ren-
 der'd this Match both uneasie and disho-
 nourable to *Cleonymus*; for there was none
 of the *Spartans* who did not very well
 know how much his Wife slighted him; so
 these Domestick Troubles added to his Pub-
 lick discontent. He brought *Pyrrhus* to
Sparta with an Army of 20000 Foot,
 2000 Horse, and 24 Elephants, but so
 great a preparation made it evident to the
 whole World, that he came not so much
 to gain *Sparta* for *Cleonymus*, as to take all
Peloponnesus for himself, yet he expressly denied
 this to the *Lacedæmonian* Ambassadors, that
 came to him to *Megalopolis*, affirming he
 came to deliver the Cities from the Slave-
 ry of *Antigonus*, and vowing to send his
 younger Sons to *Sparta* (if he might) to
 be inform'd with *Spartan* Education, that

Here Plu-
tarch him-
self changes
his style in-
to the broad
Doric.

Pyrrihus
too secure of
Success, lo-
seth the op-
portunity of
taking
Sparta.

so they might be better bred than all other Kings. With these pretensions amusing those who came to meet him in his March, as soon as ever he entred *Laconia*, he began to plunder and waste the Country, of which the Ambassadors complaining, that he began the War upon them before it was proclaimed. We know (said he) very well, that neither you *Spartans*, when you design any thing, use to talk of it beforehand. One *Mandracidas*, then present, told him in the broad *Spartan* Dialect; An yau be a God do us no harm, for wee'le harm none, and if yau be a mon, ther'se be some auther as stout as yau. He now march'd away directly for *Lacedæmon*, and being advised by *Cleonymus* to give the Assault as soon as he arrived, *Pyrrihus* (as 'tis said) fearing least the Souldiers entring by Night, should plunder the City, answer'd, they might do it as well next Morning, because there were but few Soldiers in Town, and unprovided by reason of his sudden approach, for *Areus* was not there in Person, but gone to aid the *Gortynians* then in War, and it was this alone that saved the Town, because in regard of the small number of Soldiers, and the scarcity of Provisions he despised it as not tenable, and so imagining no Defence would be made, sat down before it that Night: *Cleonymus's* Friends and the

the *Heilots*, his Domestick Servants, had made great preparation at his House, as expecting *Pyrrhus* there at Supper. In the Night, the *Lacedæmonians* held a Consult, to Ship over all the Women into *Crete*, but they unanimously refused, and *Archidamia* came into the Senate, with a Sword in her Hand, in the Name of them all, representing how unkindly they took it, to think they would survive the ruins of *Sparta*. It was next resolved to draw a Trench in a Line directly over against the Enemies Camp, and at each end of it, to sink Waggon in the Ground, as deep as the Naves of the Wheels, that so being firmly fix'd, they might obstruct the passage of the Elephants. When they had just begun the Work, both Maids and Women came to them, those had their Clothes truss'd up about their Linen, and others in their Shifts only, to assist the Elder sort of men; As for the Youth that were next day to engage, they left them to their rest, and undertaking their proportion, they themselves finish'd a third part of the Trench, which was in breadth six Cubits, four in depth, and 800 foot long, as *Phylarchus* says. *Hieronymus* makes it somewhat less. The Enemy beginning to move by break of day, they brought their Arms to the young men, and giving them also in charge

*The great
Resolution
of the Spar-
tan Ladies.*

the Trench, exhorted them to defend and keep it bravely, as a most worthy thing to conquer in the view of their whole Country, and glorious to die in the Arms of their Mothers and Wives falling as became *Spartans*. As for *Chelidonis*, she retired with a Halter about her Neck, resolving to die so, rather than fall into the Hands of *Cleonymus*, if the City were taken. *Pyrrhus* himself in Person laboured with his Foot to force through the Shields of the *Spartans* ranged against him, and to get over the Trench, which was scarce passable, because the looseness of the fresh Earth afforded no firm footing for the Soldiers. *Ptolomee*, *Pyrrhus's* Son with 2000 *Gauls*, and some choice men of the *Chaonians* went about the Trench, and endeavoured to get over where the Waggon were, but they being so deep in the Ground, and plac'd close together, did not only make his passage, but also the defence of the *Lacedæmonians* very troublesome; yet now the *Gauls* had got the Wheels out of the Ground, and were drawing off the Waggon towards the River, when Young *Acrotatus* seeing the danger they were in, passing through the Town with 300 men, surrounded *Ptolomee* undiscerned, taking the advantage of some hollow ways, till he fell upon his Rear, and forced them to wheel about, thrusting
one

one another into the Ditch, and falling among the Waggon, and at last they with much ado were cut off with a very great slaughter; the Elderly men, and all the Ladies saw this brave action of *Acrotatus*, and when he returned back into the Town to his first Post all covered with Blood, and fierce and elate with Victory, he seem'd to the *Spartan* Dames more gallant and beautiful than ever, and they envied *Chelidonis* so worthy a Lover. And some of the old men followed him, crying aloud, Go on *Acrotatus*, enjoy *Chelidonis*, and get brave Fellows for *Sparta*. Where *Pyrrhus* himself fought, was the hottest of the Action, and many of the *Spartans* did gallantly, but in particular, one *Phyllius* signaliz'd himself, and killed most of those that press'd upon him; and when he found himself ready to sink with the many Wounds he had received, retiring a little out of his place behind another, fell down among their own men, that the Enemy might not carry off his Body. The Fight ended with the day, and *Pyrrhus* in his Sleep dream'd he threw Lightning upon *Lacedæmon*, and set it all on fire, and seem'd to rejoyce at the Sight; and in this Transport of joy waking, commanded his Officers to get all things ready for a second Assault; and interpreting his Dream among his Friends,
that

that he should take the Town by Storm, several assented to it with admiration; but *Lyfmachus* was not pleased with the Dream, and told him he feared, lest as Places struck with Lightning are held Sacred, and not to be entred; so the Gods might by this let him know the City should not be taken. *Pyrrhus* replied, All these things were but idle talk, full of uncertainty, and only fit to amuse the Vulgar; but you my brave Men, with your Swords in your hands, should always think of that Verse of *Ho-*

Εἰς οἶονδ' ἔμεν.

ἀπὸς
ἀμύνειν δαί-
μωνι πα-
τρὸς.

'Tis the only good presage,
That for *Pyrrhus* you engage.

Changing the last Word of his Verse, and surprising them in raillery, with putting in the Word Πύρρῳ for πατρὸς, he got up, and drew out his Army to the Walls by break of Day; the *Lacedæmonians* in resolution and courage, made a defence even beyond their power, the Women were all by, helping them to Arms, and bringing Bread and Drink to those that desired it, and taking care of the wounded: The *Macedonians* attempted to fill up the Trench, bringing huge quantities of Materials, and throwing them upon the Arms and dead Bodies that lay there all covered over; while

while the *Lacedæmonians* opposed this with all their Force, *Pyrrhus* in Person appeared on their side of the Trench, and the Waggon pressing on Horseback towards the City, at which, the Soldiers who had that Post, making a great Noise, and the Women shrieking and running about, while *Pyrrhus* violently pushed on, and in Person beating down all that disputed his way; his Horse receiv'd a shot in the Belly, with a *Cretan* Arrow, and flouncing as he died, threw off *Pyrrhus* on slippery and very steep Grounds, at which, all about him being in a Confusion, the *Spartans* came boldly up, and making good use of their Arrows, forced them off again. This caused *Pyrrhus* to retreat a second time, thinking the *Lacedæmonians* would abate of their vigour, when almost all of them were wounded, and very great numbers killed outright; But the good Fortune of the City, either resolving to make the utmost Experiment of the bravery of her own Citizens upon herself, or giving a demonstration how great a power she has in dubious Accidents, the *Lacedæmonians* having now but very slender hopes left, brought *Ameinias*, the *Phocian*, one of *Antigonus's* Commanders, from *Corinth* to their assistance, with an Army of Strangers, and they were no sooner receiv'd into the Town, but A-

reus their King, arrived there himself too from *Crete* with 2000 men more: The Women upon this went all home to their Houses, finding it no longer necessary for them to meddle with the business of the War; and they also were sent back, who though under age, were by necessity forced to take Arms; the rest prepared to fight *Pyrrhus* upon the coming of these additional Forces, who was possessed with a more eager desire and ambition than before to make himself Master of the Town; but his Designs not succeeding, and receiving fresh losses every day, he gave over the Siege, and fell to plunder the Country, determining to winter thereabout. But Fate is unavoidable, and a great Feud happening at *Argos* between *Aristeus* and *Aristippus*, two principal Citizens, after *Aristippus* had resolved to make use of the Friendship of *Antigonus*, *Aristeus* to prevent him invited *Pyrrhus* thither; and he always revolving hopes upon hopes, and taking advantage from good successes to embrace occasions of more, and when things went unprosperously, to make up those defects by doing better another time, he neither made Losses nor Victories the bounds of his receiving or giving Trouble, and so presently went for *Argos*. *Areus* by frequent Ambushes, and lining the Hedges where

Pyrrhus
draws off
from Spar-
ta.

Pyrrhus
sent for to
Argos.

where the ways were most unpracticable, cut off many of the *Gauls* and *Molossians* that brought up the Rear. It was told *Pyrrhus* by one of the Priests that found the Liver of the sacrificed Beast imperfect, that some of his near Relations would be lost; in this Tumult and Disorder of his Rear, forgetting the Prediction, he commanded out his Son *Ptolomee*, with some of his Guards to their assistance, who quickly getting out of the narrow ways, march'd up to them, and the Fight being very warm where he was (for the most select men of the *Lacedæmonians* commanded by *Evalcus*, were there engaged) one *Oræsus*, of *Aptera*, in *Creet*, a stout man and very swift, running on the one side of the young Prince, as he was fighting bravely, gave him a mortal wound and slew him; he falling, those about him turned their backs, the *Lacedæmonian* Horse pursuing and cutting off many, were got into the open Field engaged with the Enemy before they were aware, without the Infantry; *Pyrrhus*, who had received the ill news of his Son, and was infinitely afflicted at it, drew out his *Molossian* Horse against them, and charging in the Head of his men, satiated himself with the Blood and Slaughter of the *Lacedæmonians*, always indeed appearing an invincible Hero, and mighty in Arms, but

Ptolomee
one of his
Sons kill'd.

now

now exceeded all he had ever done before in Courage and Force: Then riding up furiously to *Evalcus*, he declining a little to one side, had almost cut off *Pyrrhus* his Hand in which he held the Reins, but lighting on the Reins only, cut them, at the same instant *Pyrrhus* running him through with his Spear, fell from his Horse, and on foot as he was cut in pieces all those choice men that fought about the Body of *Evalcus*, and the obstinate fury of the Commanders on both sides brought this great loss to *Sparta*, even when the War was now at an end: *Pyrrhus* having thus offered so many as it were in Sacrifice to the Ghost of his Son, and made his Fight a kind of Funeral Show, converting much of his Grief into Rage against the Enemy, marched away to *Argos*. And having Intelligence that *Antigonus* kept the high Grounds, he encamped about *Nauplia*; the next day he dispatched an Herald to *Antigonus*, calling him perfidious, and challenging him to descend into the plain Field, and fight with him for the Kingdom; he answered, his Conduct should be measured by Times as well as by Arms, and that if *Pyrrhus* had no leisure to live, there were ways enough open to death. To both the Kings also came Ambassadors from *Argos*, desiring each Party to retreat, and not suffer the

Antigo-
nus's an-
swer to a
Challenge
of *Pyrrhus*.

the City to fall into the hands of any one of them that had a great honour for both. *Antigonus* was perswaded, and sent his Son an Hostage to the *Argives*; but *Pyrrhus*, although he promised a recess, yet sending no Hostage, he was much suspected. At this time a great Prodigy happen'd to *Pyrrhus*, for the Heads of the Sacrificed Oxen lying apart from the Bodies, were seen to thrust out their Tongues, and lick up their own gore. And in the very City of *Argos*, a Priestess of *Apollo Lycius*, ran about the Streets, crying, She saw the City full of Carcasses and Slaughter, and an Eagle coming out to fight, and presently vanishing again. In the dead of the Night *Pyrrhus* He enters the Town by Night undiscovered. approaching the Walls, and finding the Gate called *Diamperes* set open for them by *Arifteas*, was undiscovered till such time as all his *Gauls* had entred, and took possession of the Market place, but the Gate being too low to let in the Elephants, they were fain to take down their Towers, and put them on again in the dark, and in disorder; so that time being lost, the City took the Alarm, and the People, some run to *Aspis*, the chief Citadel, and others to other Places of Defence, and sent away to *Antigonus* to assist them, who coming pretty near, made an halt, but sent in some of his principal Commanders, and his Son with

with a very considerable Force; *Areus* came thither too with 1000 *Cretans*, and some of the briskest of the *Spartans*, and all falling on at once upon the *Gauls*, put them in great disorder. *Pyrrhus* entring in with a mighty Noise and Shout at a place called *Cylabaris*, when the *Gauls* returned another Cry to them, it did not express Courage and Assurance, but the Voice of men distressed, and that had their hands full. Therefore *Pyrrhus* in haste pushed on the van of his Horse that marched but slowly and dangerously, by reason of the Drains and Sinks, of which the City was full. In this Night-Engagement, there was infinite confusion both in those that acted, and those that commanded, mistaking and straggling in the narrow Streets; it was impossible to make use of Conduct or Order in that darkness and variety of Noises and strait Passages; so both sides continued without doing any thing, and expecting Day-light. At the first dawn, *Pyrrhus* seeing the great Citadel *Aspis* full of Men, was disturbed, and remarking among many Figures dedicated to the Market-place, a Wolf and Bull of Brass, as it were ready to attack one another, he was struck with horror; reflecting upon the memory of an Oracle, that formerly predicted, Fate had determined his Death when he should see

Infinite confusion on all hands in the Night.

The Sight of a Figure in the Market-place, strikes him with horror.

see a Wolf fighting with a Bull. The *Argives* report these Figures were placed in memory of a thing that fell out anciently there: For *Danaus*, when he first invaded those Parts, passing by the ways called *Pyramia* in *Thyreatis*, as he marched towards *Argos*, espied a Wolf fighting with a Bull, and imagining the Wolf to represent him (for this Stranger fell upon a Native as he designed to do) stay'd to see the Issue of the Fight, and the Wolf prevailing, after he had offered his Devotions to *Apollo Lycius*, he assaulted and carried the Town, *Gela-nor*, who was then King, being displac'd by a Faction: And this was the Cause of dedicating those Figures. *Pyrrhus* quite out of heart at this Sight, and seeing none of his Designs succeed, thought best to retreat, but fearing the strait Passage at the Gates, sent to his Son *Helenus*, who was left without the Town with a great part of his Forces, commanding him to break down part of the Wall, and assist the retreat if the Enemy pressed hard upon them: But what with the hast and confusion of the Person that was sent, he delivered nothing clearly; so that quite mistaking, the Young Prince, with the best of his men, and the remaining Elephants, marched streight through the Gates into the Town to assist his Father. *Pyrrhus* was now making

F king

king good his Retreat, and while the Market-place afforded them Ground enough both to Retreat and Fight, frequently repulsed the Enemy, that bore upon him; when he was forced out of that broad place, into a narrow street leading to the Gate, and fell in with those who came the other way to his assistance, they not hearing him call out to them to give back, and coming on very briskly of themselves, were also pushed forward by others behind, who poured in at the Gate: Besides the largest of the Elephants falling down on his side, in the very Gate, and terribly braying, lay in the way of those that would have got out. Another of these already in the Town, called *Nicon*, striving to take up his Rider, who after many wounds received, was fallen off his back, bore forward upon them that Retreated, and thrusting as well Friends as Enemies, tumbled them all confusedly upon one another, till having found the Body, and taken it up with his Trunk, he carried it on his Tusks, and returning in a great Rage, trode down all before him. Being thus pressed and crowded together, not a man could do any thing singly, but wedged so close, as it were one Mass, the whole multitude rolled and swayed this way and that altogether, they did very little Execution upon

A remarkable kindness of an Elephant to his keeper.

upon the Enemy, either in their Front or Rear, but very much harm to one another; for he who had either drawn his Sword, or directed his Lance, could neither advance it again, nor put his Sword up, but wounded their own men, as by chance they were thrust together, and so fell dead one among another. *Pyrrhus* seeing the mighty Storm and Confusion of things, took off the Crown he wore upon his Helmet, by which he was distinguished, and gave it to one nearest his Person, and trusting to the goodness of his Horse, rid in among the thickest of the Enemy, and being wounded with a Lance through his Breast-plate, but not dangerously, nor indeed very much, he turned about to him that struck him, who was an *Argive*, not a man of any Illustrious Birth, but the Son of a poor old Woman: She was looking upon the Fight among other Women, from the top of an House, and perceiving her Son engaged with *Pyrrhus*, and affrighted at the danger he was in, took up a Tile with both Hands, and threw it at *Pyrrhus*, which falling on his Head, below his Helmet, and bruising the *Vertebres* of the lower part of the Neck, his Eye-sight was taken away, his Hands let go the Reins, and sinking down from his Horse, fell just by the Tomb of *Lycimnius*; the common Soldiers knew not

Pyrrhus almost killed by a Tile thrown off an house by an old Woman.

Pyrrhus
when half
dead, terrifies a Soldier
so with
a Look, he
could hardly
cut off
his Head.

Royal Generosity of
Antigonus.

who it was; but one *Zopyrus*, that served under *Antigonus*, and two or three others running thither, and knowing it was *Pyrrhus*, dragg'd him to a Threshold hard by, just as he was recovering a little from the blow; *Zopyrus* drawing out an *Illyrian* Sword, and ready to cut off his Head, *Pyrrhus* gave him so fierce a Look, that confounded with Terror, and sometimes his Hands trembling, and then again endeavouring to do it, full of Fear and Confusion, he could not strike him right, but cutting over his Mouth and Chin, it was a long time before he got off the Head: This was quickly known to a great many, and *Alcyoneus* hast'ning to the place, desired to look upon the Head, and see whether he knew it, and taking it in his hand, rid away to his Father, and threw it at his feet, while he was sitting with some of his particular Favourites: *Antigonus* looking upon it, and knowing it, thrust his Son from him, and struck him with his Cane, calling him wicked and barbarous, and covering his Eyes with his Robe, fell a weeping, when he reflected upon the instances of the change of Fortune in his own Family, both in his Grandfather, and his Father, and caused the Head and Body of *Pyrrhus* to be burned with all due Solemnity: after this, *Alcyoneus* discovering

ring *Helenus* under a mean disguise, in a poor thred-bare Coat, used him very respectfully, and brought him to his Father: When *Antigonus* saw him, This, Son, (said he) was done much more Nobly than before, but yet there is a defect, that you have not taken off that old Coat, which is a Scandal to us who have got the Victory; and then treating *Helenus* with great kindness, and as became a Prince, restored him to his Kingdom of *Epirus*, and gave the same obliging Reception to all *Pyrrhus* his principal Commanders, after he had reduced the whole Army under his Obedience.

THE
LIFE
OF
CAIUS MARIUS.

Englified from the Greek,
By *Miles Stapleton*, Fellow of *All-
Souls Colledge* in *Oxon*.

VOLUME III.

Of the
Names of
the Ro-
mans.

I. **W**E are altogether ignorant of the
third Name of *Caius Marius*;
as likewise of that of *Quintus
Sertorius* that possessed himself
of *Spain*; or of *Lucius Mummius* that de-
stroyed *Corinth*: though this last was Sur-
named *Achaius*, from his Conquests; as
Scipio was called *Africanus*, and *Metellus*,
Macedonicus, whence *Posidonius* draws his
chiefest Argument to confute those that
hold

CAIUS MARIUS.



Σὺ δὲ πολὺν χρόνον, αὐτὸν Μάριον ἀναγῆν;



hold the second to be the *Roman* proper Name, as *Camillus*, *Marcellus*, *Cato*; for so they that had but two Names would have none proper; and he did not foresee, that by the very same reason he must rob the Women absolutely of their Names; for none of them have the first, which *Posidonius* imagines the proper Name with the *Romans*. Now of the other Names, one was common to the whole Family, as the *Pompii*, *Manlii*, *Cornelii* (and with us *Grecians*, the *Heraclidæ*, and *Pelopidæ*) the other Titular, adopted to them either from their Natures, or Actions or Affections, and Shapes of their Body; as *Macrinus*, *Torquatus*, *Sylla*; such also is *Mnemon*, *Grypus*, or *Calimicus* among the *Grecians*. But of the variety of Names, the irregularity of Custom, would we insist upon it, might furnish us with Discourse enough.

2. We have seen *Marius's Effigies* in *Marius's*
 Stone at *Ravenna* in * *Gallia*, very agreea- *Statue.*
 ble to that roughness and Sowreness of his * *Cisalpi-*
 behaviour remarked by all Authors; for *na.*
 being naturally valiant and warlike, more
 acquainted also with the Discipline of the
 Camp than of the City, he could not moderate his Passion, when in Authority. He is said, neither to have much studied *Greek*, nor ever to have made use of that Language in any matter of consequence; as

thinking it ridiculous to bestow time in that Learning, the Teachers whereof were little better than their Slaves. So after his second Triumph, when at the Dedication of a Temple, he presented some Shews after the *Greek* Fashion, coming into the Theatre, he only sat down, and immediately departed. Wherefore, as *Plato* often used to say to *Xenocrates* the Philosopher, who was seemingly of a more than ordinary rigid disposition: Prethee, good *Xenocrates*, sacrifice to the Graces; so if any could have perswaded *Marius* to pay his Devotions to the *Greek* Muses and Graces, he had never brought those his incomparable Designs both in War and Peace, to so unhappy a Conclusion, or plunged himself into a turbulent and unpleasant old Age through his Passion, ill tim'd Ambition, and insatiable Avarice; but this will farther appear by and by, from his Actions.

His Paren-
tage.

3. He was born of Parents altogether obscure, indigent, and that supported themselves by their daily labour; his Father of the same name with himself, his Mother called *Fulcinia*. He had passed a considerable part of his Age before he saw and tasted the pleasures of the City; at first he lived in *Cirraeton*, a Village in the Territory of *Arpinum*, a life compared with the City delicacies, harsh and rustical; yet temperate,

temperate, and much resembling the ancient *Roman* severity. He first listed himself in the War against the *Celtiberes*; when *Scipio Africanus* besieged *Numantia*, where he soon signalized himself to his General, by his Courage, very far above his Comrades; and particularly, by his so chearfully complying with *Scipio's* Reformation of his Army, before almost ruined by Pleasures and Luxury. 'Tis reported too, that he challenged, or at least encountred and vanquished an Enemy in his General's sight, wherefore he had several Honours conferred upon him; and among the rest, when at an Entertainment, a Discourse arising about Commanders, one of the Company (whether really desirous to know, or only in Complaisance) asked *Scipio*, where the *Romans*, after him, should obtain such another General? *Scipio* gently clapping *Marius* o'th' back, who sat next him, replied; *Here, perhaps*. So promising was his Nature, that in his very Youth, there appeared Omens of his future Greatness, and from his low beginnings the height of his advancement might be collected.

4. *Marius* fired with this Speech of *Scipio*, as with a Divine Oracle, took the courage to apply himself to the management of Publick Affairs, and by the assistance of *Cæcilius Metellus* (on whose Family,

*His Tri-
buneship.*

mily, he as well as his Father, had continual dependence) obtained the Office of Tribune of the People. In which place, when he would have made a Law concerning Voting, which seem'd to lessen the Authority of the great Men in matters of *Judicature*) the Consul *Cotta* opposed him, perswaded the Senate to declare against the Law, and call *Marius* to an account for it; But he, while this Decree was preparing, coming into the Senate, did not behave himself like a young man newly and undeservedly advanced to Authority: But taking as much courage as his future Actions would have inspired into him, threatened *Cotta*, unless he recalled the Decree, to clap him in Prison; and turning to *Metellus*, asked his Vote; *Metellus* rising up, concurred with the Consul, whereupon *Marius* calling for an Officer, commanded to take *Metellus* too into Custody; who though he appealed to the other Tribunes, yet not one of them assisted him; so that the Senate immediately complying, repealed the Decree.

5. *Marius*, now famous among the People for this Exploit, confirmed his Law, and was henceforth esteemed of an undaunted Courage and Assurance, as well as a vigorous Opposer of the Senate in favour of the Commons. But he immediately

ately lost this their Opinion of him by a contrary Action; for when a Law concerning *the distribution of Corn* was proposed, he very vigorously contradicted the Citizens, and carried it, making himself equally honoured by both Parties in gratifying neither, contrary to the Publick Interest. After his Tribuneship he was Candidate for the Office of chief Edile; for there are two Orders of them, one called *Curulis*, from the Stool on which he sat when he executed his Authority; the other inferiour, is called *Ædilis plebis*: as soon as they have chosen the former, they give their Voices again for the latter: Wherefore *Marius*, when he was apparently like to be put by the greater, immediately changed his Design, and stood for the less; but because he seemed too forward and opiniatre, he was disappointed of that also. And though he were in one day twice frustrated of his desired Preferment (which never happ'ned to any before) yet he was not at all discouraged; but a little while after sought for the Prætorship, and was near suffering a Repulse, and then too, tho' he was returned last of all, was nevertheless accused of indirectly acquiring it.

His standing to be Ædile.

6. *Cassius Sabaco's* Servant, who was observed within the Rails among them that voted, chiefly occasioned the suspicion; for this

His Prætorship and accusation.

this *Sabaco* was an intimate Friend of *Marius*, and being called to appear before the Judges, alledg'd; That being thirsty, by reason of the heat, he called for cold water, and that his Servant brought him a Cup, and as soon as he drank, departed; however he was excluded the Senate by the succeeding Censors, and not undeservedly neither (as was thought) either for his false Evidence or Intemperance: *Caius Herennius* was also cited as Evidence; but pleaded that it was not customary for a Patron (for so the *Romans* call their Advocates) to witness against his Clients, and that the Law excused them from that disobligement: Now both his Parents and himself were always Clients to the Family of the *Herennii*, and when the Judges would have accepted of this Plea, *Marius* himself opposed it, and told *Herennius*, that when he was first created Magistrate, he ceased to be his Client, which was not altogether true: For it is not every Office that frees Clients and their Posterity from the observance due to their Patrons, but only that to which the Law has assigned a *Sella Curulis*. Notwithstanding, though at the beginning of the Suit it went somewhat hard with *Marius*, and he found the Judges no way favourable to him; yet at last their Voices being equal, he was beyond expectation acquitted.

7. In his Prætorship he got not much Honour, yet afterwards obtained the farther *Spain*; which Province he is said to have cleared of Thieves, when as yet it was not thoroughly settled in Peace, and much wasted by the late Wars; and the *Spaniards* in those days thought Robbery a piece of Valour. Returning to the Affairs of the City, he trusted neither to Riches nor to Elequence, with which the leading Men chiefly took the People; but the Citizens having his fierce disposition, indefatigable pains and popular way of living in high esteem, he acquired by these Offices great Wealth and Power; so that he made a very honourable Match with *Julia* of the *His Wife,* Renowned Family of the *Cæsars*, to whom that *Cæsar* was Nephew, who was afterwards so great among the *Romans*, and who by the relation he had to *Marius*, was popular with that Party; as in his Life we have observed. They attribute to *Marius* both Temperance and Patience, of which latter he gave a pregnant instance in an operation of Surgery; for having (as it seems) both his Legs full of great Tumours called *Varices*, and being troubled at their deformity, he determined to put himself into the hands of an Operator: where without being tied, he stretched out one of his Legs, and silently, without changing

ing Countenance, endured most excessive torments in the cutting, never either flinching or complaining; but when the Surgeon went to the other, he suffered him not; saying, *I see the Cure is not worth the Pain.*

His Deportment in the War against Jugurtha.

8. The Consul *Cæcilius Metellus* being declared General in the War against *Jugurtha* in *Africk*, took with him *Marius* for Lieutenant; where he putting himself upon the performance of dangerous Actions and honourable Adventures, neglected *Metellus's* Glory and the serving his Interest, as others before him had practised; for attributing his Honour of Lieutenancy not to *Metellus* but Fortune, which had presented him with a proper opportunity and Theatre of great Actions, he exerted his utmost Courage. That War too affording several difficulties, he neither declined the greatest, nor disdained undertaking the least of them; but surpassing his Equals in Counsel and Conduct, and matching the very common Soldiers in Labour and Abstemiousness, he strangely won their Affections; for the voluntary partaking with them in their Labour seems to be an easing of them; inasmuch as they apprehend it to take away the constraint and necessity of working. It is the most obliging sight in the World to the *Romans* to see a Commander

der eat the same Meat with his Soldiers, or lie upon an ordinary Bed, or assist the Work in the drawing a Trench and raising a Bulwark; for they do not so much admire those that conferr Honours and Riches upon them, as those that partake of the same labour and danger with themselves; but love them better that will vouchsafe to forward their work, than those that encourage their idleness.

9. Whilst *Marius* was thus employed, and thereby won mightily upon the Soldiers, he immediately filled both *Africk* and *Rome* with his Fame, and some too wrote home from the Army, that the War with *Africa* would never be brought to a Conclusion, unless they chose *C. Marius* Consul, whereas *Metellus* was apparently incensed; but was more especially grieved at the Calamity of *Turpilius*. This *Turpilius* Turpilius, had from his Ancestors been a Friend of, and kept constant Hospitality with *Metellus*; and now being made by him Overseer of the Workmen, was concerned in this War, where commanding a Garrison in *Vacca* a considerable City, and trusting too much to the Inhabitants, because he treated them civilly and kindly, he unawares fell into the Enemies hands, for they received *Jugurtha* into the City, yet nevertheless at their request *Turpilius* was dismissed

Marius an
Enemy to
him.

fed safe, and without receiving any Injury; whereupon he was accused of betraying it to the Enemy. *Marius*, being one of the Council of War, was not only violent against him himself, but also incensed most of the others, so that *Metellus* was forced (much against his Will) to put him to death. Not long after, the Accusation proved false, and when others were comforting *Metellus*, who took heavily the loss of his Friend. *Marius* rather insulting and arrogating it to himself, boasted in all Companies that he had lodged a Fury in *Metellus's* Soul, by forcing him to put to death his dearest Friend.

Marius
goes to
Rome.

10. Henceforward they were at open variance; and 'tis reported, that *Metellus* should say, drolling upon *Marius* then present. *Oh Sir, you design to leave us to go home and stand for the Consulship, would not you be well enough contented to be Consul with this Boy of mine?* Now *Metellus's* Son was very young; yet for all this *Marius* being very importunate to be gone, after several delays, he was dismissed about twelve days before the Election of Consuls; and performed that long Journey from the Camp to *Utica* (a Sea Town) in two days and a night, and there doing sacrifice before he went on Ship-board, it is said, the *Augur* told him, that Heaven promised him some incre-

incredible good Fortune, and such as was beyond all expectation. *Marius* not a little proud of this *Omen*, began his Voyage, and in four days with a favourable wind, passed the Sea; he was extremely welcome to the People, and being brought into the Assembly by one of the Tribunes, he sued for the Consulship, mightily inveighing against *Metellus*, and promising either to slay *Jugurtha*, or take him alive.

II. He was elected with great Applause; but presently levied Soldiers contrary both to Law and Custom, listng several Slaves and poor People; whereas former Commanders never accepted of such; but bestowed Arms, like other Favours, with Honour on deserving Persons; every one esteeming his Wealth as a pledge for his good performance. These were not the only prejudices against *Marius*; but some haughty * Speeches, utter'd with great arrogance and contempt, grieved the Nobility extremely; as that he should say, he took the Consulship as a prey from the effeminacy of the wealthy and nobler Citizens, and tell the People that he gloried in the wounds he received for them, more than others in the Monuments of the Dead and Images of their Ancestors, often speaking of those Commanders, *Bestia* and *Albinus*, that were unfortunate in *Africk*, said,

G

that

*His first
Consulship.*

* See his
Speech in
Salust.

that they were indeed men of very good Families, but unfit for War, and such as miscarried through want of experience; and asked them that were about him, if they did not think that their Ancestors had not much rather have left a Posterity like him, since they themselves grew famous not by Nobility, but by their Valour and great Actions? This he did not say merely out of Vanity and arrogance, or that he were willing without any advantage to reproach the Nobility; but the People always delighting in Affronts and scurrilous Contumelies against the Senate (whereby they measure greatness of Spirit) continually encouraged him in it, and instigated him not to spare the most worthy Persons, so that he might thereby gratify the Multitude.

Metellus's
grief for
giving
place to
him.

12. As soon as he arrived again in *Africk*, *Metellus* now not able to bear up under the violence of the others Envy, and Vehemence of his own Passion; That having finished the War, and nothing left but to secure the Person of *Jugurtha*, *Marius* now grown great merely through his Ingratitude to him, should bereave him both of his Victory and Triumph, he could not stand the Interview; but of himself retired, whilst *Rutilius* his Lieutenant surrendered up the Army to *Marius*, which the just wrath
of

of the Gods returned upon his Head in the end of the War; for *Sylla* deprived him of the glory of the Action, as he had done *Metellus*; the manner of it I shall lay down in a word or two, having more particularly insisted upon it in *Sylla's* Life. *Bocchus* was King of *Mauritania*, and Father-in-law to *Jugurtha*, yet sent him little or no assistance in his War, pretending his unfaithfulness, though really jealous of his growing Power; but after *Jugurtha* fled, and in his distress came to him as his last Sanctuary, he received him indeed as a Suppliant, rather because ashamed to do otherwise, than out of real kindness; and when he had him in his power, he openly intreated *Marius* on his behalf, and vigorously interceded for him, giving out that he would by no means deliver him, yet privately designing to betray him, he sent for *L. Sylla*, Quæstor to *Marius*, and who had sometimes befriended *Bocchus* in the Army. *Jugurtha delivered to Sylla.* When *Sylla* relying on his word came to him, the *African* began to repent of his purpose, and often changed his mind, being for several days unresolved with himself whether he should deliver *Jugurtha*, or retain *Sylla*; at length he fixed upon his former Treachery, and put *Jugurtha* alive into *Sylla's* possession.

Sylla pro-
vokes Ma-
rius.

13. This gave the first rise to that sad and deplorable Civil War, which almost ruined the whole *Roman* Empire; for many that envied *Marius*, attributed the Success wholly to *Sylla*; and *Sylla* himself made him a Seal, wherein was engraven *Bocchus* betraying *Jugurtha* to him, and this he constantly used; whereby he highly provoked *Marius*, a man extremely ambitious and jealous of a Rival in his Glory, his Enemies especially promoting the Dissention, and ascribing the beginning and chief business of the War to *Metellus*, and the conclusion to *Sylla*; that so the People might give over admiring and esteeming *Marius* as the worthiest Person. But these Envyings and Calumnies were soon dispersed and wiped off from *Marius*, by the eminent danger that threatned *Italy* from the * West; for the City had great need of a good Commander, and sought about whom she might set at the Helm, to repel the Inundation of so great a War; and when not of the Noble or Potent Families appeared Candidate for the Consulship, they created *Marius*, though then absent.

* The Cim-
bri, though
a Northern
People, yet
having roun-
ted *Mallius*
and *Cæpio*
in Spain
and Gallia,
came im-
mediately
from those
Parts to
Rome.

The Teu-
tones and
Cimbri.

14. Now *Jugurtha's* Defeat was just noised about, when the News of the Invasion of the *Teutones* and *Cimbri* began: at first it exceeded all credit, as to the number and strength

strength of the approaching Army; but at length that report proved much inferior to the Truth, for they were 300000 effective fighting men; besides a far greater number of Women and Children. Their pretence was the seeking New Countries to sustain their so great Multitudes, and Cities where they might settle and inhabit; as they had heard the *Celtæ* before them had expelled the *Tyrrheni*, and possessed themselves of the best part of *Italy*. Now these having had no Commerce with the Southern Nations, and coming from Countries far remote; no man knew what People they were, or whence they came, that thus like a Cloud hovered over *Gallia* and *Italy*: yet by their grey Eyes and the largeness of their Stature, they conjectured them to be some of those *Germans* that dwell by the Northern Sea: besides that the *Germans* call their * Soldiers *Cimbri*.

* Not Thieves, though Latrones now generally signifies in the worse sense.

15. There are some that say, that the Country of *Celtæ*, through the largeness and extent of the Place, reacheth from the farthest Sea and Northern Climes to the Lake *Mæotis* Eastward, and to that part of *Scythia* which is near *Pontus*; and that there the two Nations mingled together: that they did not swarm out of their Country all at once, or on a sudden, but at a certain Season every year; still going for-

ward at several times, gave disturbance with their Wars to the whole Continent; whereby, though each Party had several appellations, yet the whole Army was called by the common name of *Celtick-Scythians*. Others say that they were a small parcel of the *Cimmerii*, anciently well known to the *Grecians*; who upon some Sedition raised among the *Scythians*, passed all along from the Lake *Mæotis* to *Asia*, under the Conduct of one *Lygdamis*; but the greater and more warlike part of them still inhabit the remotest Regions lying upon the farther Ocean. These they say, live in a dark Woody Country, hardly penetrable by the Sun-beams, by reason of their many high and spreading Trees; which also reach inward as far as the *Hercinian* Forest; that they are under that part of Heaven, where the Pole is so elevated, that by the Declination of the Parallels, the Zenith of the Inhabitants seems to be but little distant from it; and that their Days and Nights being almost of an equal length, they divide their Year into one of each. This dismal Country gave *Homer* occasion for the Fiction, that when *Ulysses* would call up the dead, he retired into the Country of the *Cimmerians*; as conceiving it either Hell it self, or a place nearest to it; and that from hence those People, who were

S.Odyss.
II.

were anciently called *Cimmerii*, and then (though not from their manner of Life) *Cimbri*, came into *Italy*; but this is rather Conjecture than an Authentick History.

16. However, most Writers agree, that the number of this Rascality was not less, but rather greater than was reported. They were of an invincible strength and fierceness in their Wars; and came on with the same irresistible violence as a devouring flame; nor could any withstand their fury in their march, but all, as many as they assaulted, were troden down and hurried along as their Prey. Several of the greatest *Roman* Commanders with their whole Armies, that were set for the Defence of *Gallia Transalpina*, were ingloriously overthrown; who indeed by their faint resistance chiefly gave them the boldness of marching towards *Rome*: for having vanquished all they set upon, and being well laden with Plunder, they resolved to settle themselves no where till they should have raised the City, and wasted all *Italy*. The *Romans* being from all Parts alarmed with this News, sent for *Marius* to manage the War, and nominated him the *second time Consul*; though the Law did not permit any one that was absent, or that had not stayed a certain time from

*Marius's
second Con-
sulship.*

his first Consulship to be again created : yet the People rejected all Opposers; for they considered this was not the first time, that the Law gave place to the Common Interest, nor the present occasion less urgent than that, when contrary to Law, they made *Scipio* Consul; then not fearing the destruction of their own City, but desiring the ruine of that of the *Carthaginians*.

His Tri-
umph.

17. This prevailed, and *Marius* bringing over his Legions out of *Africk* on the very first day of *January* (which the *Romans* reckon the beginning of their Year) he received the Consulship, and then also entred into Triumph, shewing *Jugurtha* a Prisoner to the People, a Sight beyond their expectation; for none could hope to subdue that Province while he lived; so cautelous was the man in complying with all the turns of Fortune, and to his Valour had the addition of a great share of Craft. 'Tis said, that when he was led in Triumph, he fell distracted, and was afterwards thrown into Prison, where some forcibly tore off his Cloaths; and others whilst they strove for his Golden Pendant, with it pulled off the tip of his Ear; and when he was cast naked into the Dungeon, full of horreur, yet forcing a smile, he cried out, *O Heavens! How intolerably cold is this Bath of yours: where for six*
days

days struggling with extream hunger, and to the very last minute seeming desirous of Life, he was over taken by the just reward of his Villainies. In this Triumph was brought (as was reported) of Gold 3007 pound weight, of Silver Bullion 5775, of Money in Gold and Silver Coin 17028 Drachms. After the Solemnity, *Marius* called together the Senate in the Capitol, and entred the Court insolently, whether through inadvertency, or too much puffed up with his good Fortune, in his Triumphal Habit; yet presently observing the Senate offended at it, he went out, and putting on his ordinary Purple Robe, immediately returned.

18. In his Expeditions he appeared in the Head of his Army, and trained them in their exercises while they marched; using them to labour and weariness, to long and tedious Journies, and compelled each Soldier to carry his own Baggage, and provide his own Victuals; insomuch that thence forward such as were very laborious, silently without grumbling doing their work, were called *Marius's Mules*. But some think there was another occasion of this Proverb; that when *Scipio* besieged *Numantia*, he being careful to inspect not only their Horses and Arms, but their Mules and Carriages too, and see how

His disciplining his Army.

how well equipped and in what readines each one's was, *Marius* brought forth his Horse, which had fed extreamly well, and a Mule in better case, stronger and gentler than those of others; whereupon the General was very well pleased with, and often mentioned, *Marius's* Beasts; insomuch that when they would droll in the praise of a continual drudging, laborious Fellow, they called him *Marius's* Mule.

*His good
Fortune.*

19. But to proceed; Very great good Fortune seemed to attend *Marius*; for the Enemy in a manner changing their course, and falling first upon *Spain*, he had time to exercise his Soldiers, and confirm their Courage; and which was most considerable, to shew them what he himself was. For that fierce humour of his in Authority and inexorableness in punishing, proved both just and advantageous to those that did not use to do amiss, and were not stubborn in their faults; and his turbulent Spirit, stern Voice, and sower Aspect, which were in a little while grown familiar to them, they esteemed terrible not to themselves, but only to their Enemies. But his Uprightness in judging did more especially please the Soldiers, whereof this is a remarkable instance. One *C. Lucius* his own Nephew, had a command under him in the Army, who was a man in other respects

*His Ju-
stice.*

respects not notoriously debauched, but much given to the unlawful Love of young men; he particularly loved one that was under his Command called *Trebonius*, with whom notwithstanding his many solicitations, he could never prevail; at length one Night he sent a Messenger for him, and *Trebonius* came (for it was not lawful for him to refuse when he was sent for) and being brought into his Tent, as *Lucius* endeavoured to force him, he drew his Sword and ran him thorough. This was done whilst *Marius* was absent; who, when he returned, appointed *Trebonius* a time for his Tryal; where whilst many accused him, and not any one appeared in his Defence, he himself with an undaunted assurance elated the whole matter, and brought witness that he had often resisted *Lucius's* importunity; and that though he had given him considerable Presents, he had never consented to him. *Marius* admiring, and very much pleased at it, commanded a Garland (the usual reward of Valour) to be brought, wherewith he himself Crowned *Trebonius*; as having performed an excellent Action, at a time that very much wanted such good Examples.

20. This being told at *Rome*, proved no small help to *Marius* towards his Third Consulship; to which also conducted the expectation of *Marius's* Third Consulship.

expectation of the *Barbarians* at that time of the year, the People being unwilling to trust their Fortunes with any other General but him; however their arrival was not so sudden as was imagined, but the time of *Marius's* third Consulship was again expired. The Election coming on, and his Colleague being dead, he left the Command of the Army to *Manius Aquilius*, and hastned to *Rome*, where several eminent Persons being Candidates for the Consulship, *Lucius Saturninus* (who more than any of the other Tribunes, swayed the Populace, and of whom *Marius* himself was very observant) made an Harangue to the People, advising them to chuse *Marius* Consul; but he seeming to decline the Office, as one pretending never to be ambitious of it, *Saturninus* called him Traytor to his Country, that in such apparent danger would desert the War. And though it was not difficult to discover that he was assistant to *Marius* in putting this Sham upon the People; yet they considering, that the present Juncture very much required his rough Discipline, and his good Fortune too, voted him the fourth time Consul, and made *Catulus Lutatius* his Colleague, a man very much esteemed by the Nobility, and not unagrecable to the Commons.

*His Fourth
Consulship.*

21. *Marius* having notice of the Enemy's approach, with all expedition passed the *Alps*, and pitching his Camp by the River *Rhone*, he took care first for plentiful Supplies of Victuals; lest at any time he should be forced to fight at a disadvantage for want of Necessaries. The Carriage of Provision for the Army from the Sea, which was formerly long and chargeable, he made speedy and easie; for the mouth of the *Rhone*, by the Reflux of the Sea, being barred and almost filled up with Sand and Dirt, the Passage there became narrow, difficult, and dangerous for those Ships that brought their Provisions. Hither therefore bringing his Army then at leisure, he drew a great Trench, and thereby turning the course of a great part of the River, brought it to a convenient Haven, deep and fit to receive Ships of considerable Burthen, as also having a calm and easie opening to the Sea; and this still returns the name it took from him.

La Fosse
Mariane.

22. The Enemy dividing themselves into two parts, the *Cimbri* chose to go against *Catulus* higher up through the Country of the *Norici*, and to force that Passage. The *Teutones* and *Ambrones* to march against *Marius* by the Sea-side through *Liguria*, whereupon the *Cimbri* were longer before they arrived in *Italy*. The *Teutones* and
Ambrones

Ambrones with all expedition passing over the interjacent Country, appeared to be an incredible number, and of a terrible Aspect, much different from all others in their ordinary Speech, and Shoutings, they taking up a great part of the Plain with their Camp, challenged *Marius* to Battel; he seemed to take no notice of them, but kept his Soldiers within their Fortifications, and sharply reprehended those that were of too forward and eager a Courage, and who would needs be fighting, calling them Traytors to their Country; and telling them they were not now in pursuit of the Glory of Triumphs and Trophies, but how they might repel such an impetuous Tempest of War, and save *Italy*.

*Marius's
Policy.*

23. Thus he discoursed privately with his Officers and Equals, but placed the Soldiers by turns upon the Bulwarks to survey the Enemy, and so made them acquainted with their shape and voice (which were indeed altogether extravagant and barbarous) and he caused them to observe their Arms, and way of using them, so that in a little time what at first appeared terrible to their apprehensions, by often viewing became familiar; for he very rationally supposed, that the *strangeness of Foreign things conduces very much to the rendering them formidable*; and that by our better

ter acquaintance with them, even those things, which are naturally terrible, lose very much of their frightfulness. Now this daily converse did not only diminish some of the Soldiers fear, but their Indignation warmed and inflamed their Courage, when they heard the threats and insupportable insolence of their Enemies; who not only plundered and depopulated all the Country round, but also with great Contempt and Resolution threatned to storm their Trenches.

24. Hereupon such like Complaints of the Soldiers as these came to Marius's ears. *What Effeminacy does Marius see in us, that he should thus like Women lock us up from en-* *His Soldiers Complaints.*
countering our Enemies? Come on, let us shew our selves men, and ask him if he expect any others that must fight for our Liberty: Shall he always employ us in servile Offices, when he would draw Trenches, cleanse places of mud and dirt, and turn the course of Rivers? In such Works as these, it seems, he will exercise us; then return home, and brag of these great performances of his Consulships to the People. Or does the defeat of Carbo and Cæpio, who were vanquished by the Enemy, affright him? Surely they were much inferior to Marius both in Glory and Valour, and commanded a much weaker Army; at the worst it is better to be in Action, though we
suffer

suffer for it like them, than to sit idle Spectators of the destruction of our Allies and Companions. Marius not a little pleased to hear this, gently appeased them, pretending that he did not distrust their Valour, but that he took his measures as to the time and place of Victory from some certain Oracles.

Martha a
Prophets.

25. He used solemnly to carry about in a Litter, a Syrian Woman, called *Martha*, a supposed Prophetess, and to Sacrifice by her directions. She had formerly been driven away from the Senate; to whom she addressed her self, offering to inform them about these Affairs, and to foretel future Events, whereupon she betook her self to the Ladies, and gave some experiments of her skill, especially to *Marius's* Wife; who sitting to see the Gladiators combat, she foretold which of them should overcome; and was for this and the like Predictings sent by her to *Marius*, and the Army, where she was very much admired, and for the most part carried about in a Litter; when she went to Sacrifice she wore a Purple Robe lined and buttoned up, and had in her Hand a little Spear trimmed with Rubans and Garlands. This Farce made many question, whether *Marius* did really give any credit to her himself, or only play'd the Counterfeit when he shewed

shewed her publickly to impose upon the Soldiers.

26. But what *Alexander Mindius* re-^{Vultures}lates about the Vultures, does really de-^{appear.}serve admiration; that always before his Victories there appeared two of them, and accompanied the Army; which were known by their brazen Collars (for the Soldiers, when they took them, put these about their Necks, and so let them go, whereupon they in a manner knew and saluted the Soldiers) and whensoever these appeared in their Marches, they very much rejoiced as at an Omen of good Success in that Expedition. But of the many Prodigies,^{Other Pro-}that then were taken notice of, the rest^{digies.}were but of the ordinary stamp; as, that it was reported at *Ameria* and *Tudertum* (two Cities in *Italy*) there were seen at Nights in the Sky, flaming Darts and Shields, now waved about, and then again clashing against one another, resembling those postures and motions Soldiers use in their fighting; that at length one Party retreating, and the other pursuing, they all disappearing Westward. Much about the same time came *Batabaces* one of *Cy-*^{Batabaces.}*bele's* Priests from *Pessinunce*, and reported how the Goddes had declared to him by her Oracle, That the *Romans* should obtain the Victory, and no small Glory in this

H

War.

War. The Senate giving credit to him, and voting the Goddess a Temple to be built in hopes of a Victory; *Aulus Pompeius* a Tribune prevented *Batabaces*, when he would have gone and told the People this same Story, calling him Impostor, and ignominiously pulling him out of the *Rostra*; which Action chiefly got repute to the Fellow's report; for *Aulus* had scarce dissolved the Assembly, and returned home, when so violent a Fever seized him, that it was notoriously known and in every bodies Mouth, that he died within a week after.

27. Now the *Teutones*, whilst *Marius* lay quiet, ventured to attack his Camp; from whence, being encountered with showers of Darts, and losing several of their men, they determined to march forward, hoping to recover the other side of the *Alps* without opposition, and packing up their baggage, they passed securely by the *Roman* Camp, where the greatness of their number chiefly appeared by the long time they took in their March; for they were said to be six days continually going on in passing *Marius's* Fortifications; they marched pretty near, and revilingly asked the *Romans*, if they would send any recommendations by them to their Wives? for they would shortly be with them. As soon

as the Enemy was gone by, and continued their motion, *Marius* began to move, and follow them at his leisure; always encamping at some small distance from them; chusing also convenient places for his Camp, and strongly fortifying it, that he might quarter with the greater safety. Thus they marched till they came to *Aquæ-Sextiliæ*, whence the *Alps* were but little distant, where *Marius* put himself in readiness for the Encounter.

28. He chose a place for his Camp of considerable strength, but where was scarcity of Water; designing (as was reported) by this means to put an edge on his Soldiers Courage, whereat when several were not a little grieved, and complained of thirst; he pointing to a River that ran near the Enemy's Camp: *There, says he, you may have drink, but at the expence of your Bloud. Why then,* replied they, *do you not lead us to them, that we may have something that is liquid though it be Bloud?* But, says he, *in a softer tone; Let's first fortifie our Camp; whereupon the Soldiers for all their repining durst not but obey.* Now as a great company of their Boys and Pedees having
The Battel begun by Slaves.
 neither drink for themselves nor Horses, went down to that River, some taking Axes, others Halberts, and some two Swords and Darts with their Pitchers, re-
 H 2 solving

solving to have water though they fought for it. These were first encountred by a small party of the Enemies; for most of them were after bathing at dinner, and several were then too bathing themselves (for the Country thereabouts abounds very much with hot Springs) so that the *Romans* fell upon them whilst they were enjoying themselves, and very much transported with the wonderful pleasantness of the place. Upon hearing their shouts (more still coming in) it was not a little difficult for *Marius* to contain his Soldiers, so much concerned for their Servants, and the more warlike part of the Enemies, who had overthrown *Mallius* and *Cæpio* (they were called *Ambrones*, and were in number one with another above 30000) taking the Alarm, stood to their Arms.

29. These, though they had sufficiently filled their bellies, yet retained their minds undisturbed; and though they indulged themselves even to Intemperance, yet did they not rush on like mad men disorderly or sending forth confused noises; but all of them dancing and clashing their Arms, in a kind of Consort, often repeated their name *Ambrones*; either the better to encourage one another, or to strike the greater terrour into their Enemies. Of all the *Italians* in *Marius's* Army, the *Ligurians* were

were the first that charg'd; and when they understood that the Enemy's confused Shout, was calling themselves *Ambrones*, they also echoed the same word, which was an Ancient Name of their Country. This Acclamation, bandied from one Army to the other before they joined, the more incensed the *Germans*; so that their Officers on either side encouraging them, they strove with all possible vehemence the one to overshoot the other, taking it mutually for an *Omen* of Victory, and a great Incentive of their Courage.

30. The River divided the *Ambrones*; *The Fight.* and before they could draw up all their Army on the other side of it, the *Ligurians* presently fell upon the Van, and began to charge them Hand to Hand. The *Romans* too coming to their assistance, and from the higher Ground pouring upon the Enemy, forceably repelled them, the most of them (one thrusting another into the River) were there slain, and filled it with their Bloud and dead Bodies. Those that got safe over not daring to make head, the *Romans* slew as they fled to their Camp and Carriages; where the Women meeting them with Swords and Halberts, and making an hideous out-cry, set upon those that fled as well as those that pursued; the one as Traitors, the other as Enemies; and

mixing themselves with the Soldiers, with their bare Arms pulling away the *Romans* Shields, and laying hold on their Swords, endured the wounds and flashing of their Bodies to the very last with undaunted Resolution. Thus the Battel seems to have hapned at that River rather by accident than by the design of the General.

31. After the *Romans* were retreated from the great slaughter of the *Ambrones*, Night came on; but the Army was not careessed as it used to be, with Songs of Victory, drinking in their Tents, and kind mutual Entertainments, and (what is most welcome to Soldiers after an happy Conquest) quiet sleep: But they passed that Night chiefly in Fears and Tumults; for their *Camp was without Fortifications and Trenches*, and there remained several Thousands of their Enemies as yet unconquered; to whom were joined as many of the *Ambrones* as escaped. There were heard at Night sad Mournings, nothing like the sighs and Groans of Men; but a kind of salvage howling and roaring, joined with threats and Lamentations, proceeded from so great a multitude, which the neighbouring Hills and hollow Caves of the River echoed about and filled the whole Plain with an hideous Noise; inso-much that the *Romans* were not a little afraid;

fraid; and *Marius* himself was astonished with apprehension of a confused tumultuous Night-Engagement. But they did not stir this Night or the next Day, but were employed in consultation how to dispose and draw themselves up to the greater advantage.

32. Of this occasion *Marius* made good use; for there were beyond the Enemies some woody Cliffs and Vallies well shaded with Trees, whether he sent *Claudius Marcellus* very secretly with 3000 Soldiers, giving him orders to post them in ambush there, and shew themselves at the Rear of the Enemies, when the Fight was begun; the others whom he had refreshed with Victuals and Sleep, as soon as it was day he drew up before the Camp, and commanded the Horse to march into the Plain, which the *Teutones* perceiving, could not contain themselves till the *Romans* should come down and fight them on equal terms; but hastily arming themselves, they inconsiderately ran towards a Hill hard by, where the *Romans* were drawn up. *Marius* sending Officers to all Parts, commanded his men to stand still and keep their Ground: when they came within reach, to throw their Piles, then use their Swords, and joining their Shields, repel the Enemy; for he shewed that the steepness of

the Ground rendred the Enemies Charge infirm, and abated the force of their blows; nor could their Shields be joined close together, the inequality of the Ground hindering the stability of their Bodies.

*The second
Battel.*

33. This Counsel he gave them, and was observed to be the first that followed it; for he was inferiour to none in the exercise of his Body, and far excelled them all in resolution. Wherefore the *Romans* vigorously opposed, and by that means forced them to retreat from the Hill; the *Ambrones*, as soon as they had put their Van in a posture of resistance, found those in the Rear very much disordered; for *Marcellus* had not let slip the opportunity, but as soon as the Shout was raised among the *Romans* on the Hills, he encouraging his men, fell in upon the Enemy behind, and running and shouting routed those nearest him; and they breaking the Ranks of those that were before them, the whole Army was immediately filled with confusion; they made no long resistance after they were thus broke in upon, but having lost all Order, fled.

34. The *Romans* pursuing them, slew and took Prisoners above 100000, and possessing themselves of their Spoil, Tents, and Carriages, voted as many of them as
were

were not purloin'd, to *Marius's* share; which, though so Magnificent a Present, yet was generally thought less than his Conduct deserved in so great a danger. Other Authors do not agree about the division of the Plunder and number of the slain. They say, the Inhabitants of *Massilia* hedged in their Vineyards with the bones, and that the Ground enriched by the moisture of the putrefied Bodies (which was soaked in with the rain of the following Winter) yielded at the season a prodigious Crop, which seems to confirm *Archilochus's* Relation who said, that *the Fallows were fattened by them*. Now it is an observation not improbable, that extraordinary Rains usually fall after great Battels; whether it be, that some Deity washeth and cleanseth the polluted Earth with showers from above, or that bloud and corruption steaming forth a moist and gross Vapour, thicken the Air, which by reason of its tenuity is subject to alterations arising generally from the smallest causes.

35. After the Battel, *Marius* chose out from amongst the *Barbarians* Spoils and Arms, those that were whole and handsome, and that would make the greatest shew in his Triumph; the rest he heaped upon a large Pile, and offered a very splendid Sacrifice. Whilst the Army stood round

Marius's
Fifth Con-
sulship.

round about with their Arms and Garlands, himself attired (as the fashion is on such occasions) in a Purple Robe, taking a lighted Torch, and with both Hands lifting it up towards Heaven, was then going to put it to the Pile, when some of his Friends were espied with all haste coming towards him on Horse-back; whereupon every one remained in great silence and expectation; when they came near, they alighting, saluted *Marius*, and bringing him the News of his fifth Consulship, delivered him Letters to the same purpose. This gave the addition of no small joy to the Solemnity, which the Army expressed in a Warlike kind of rejoycing and acclamations, and the Officers again crowning *Marius* with a Lawrel-wreath, he set fire to the Pile and finished his Sacrifice.

36. But whatever it be, which permits us not the enjoyment of Prosperity pure and sincere, but still interchanges humane Affairs with the mixture of good and bad, whether Fortune or Providence, or the necessity of the Nature of Things, within a few days *Marius* received an account of his Colleague *Catulus*, which as another Cloud in this Serenity and Calm terrified *Rome* with the apprehension of an imminent Storm. *Catulus*, who marched against the *Cimbri*, despairing of being able to defend
the

the tops of the *Alps*; lest, being compelled to divide his Forces into several Parties, he should very much weaken himself, with all expedition returned to *Italy*, and posted his Army by the River *Athesis*; where blocking up the Passages on both sides the River with strong Fortifications, he made a Bridge, that so he might go to their assistance that were on the other side, if so be the Enemy having forced the narrow Passages, should storm the Fortresses. The *Barbarians* came on with such Insolence and Contempt of their Enemies, that to shew their Strength and Courage, rather than out of any necessity, they went naked in the showers of Snow, and through the Ice and deep Snow climbed up to the tops of the Hills, and from thence, placing their broad Shields under their bodies, let themselves slide from the Precipices along their vast slippery Descents.

37. When they had pitched their Camp at a little distance from the River, and surveyed the Passage, they began to cast up their Banks, Giant-like, tearing up the neighbouring Hills; and brought Trees pulled up by the roots, and heaps of Earth to the River, therewith damming up its course, and with great heavy Materials rowled down the Stream and dashed against the Bridge, they forced away the Planks which

which supported it; whereat the greatest part of the *Roman* Soldiers very much affrighted, left their Camp and fled. Here did *Catulus* shew himself a generous indulgent General, in preferring the Glory of his People before his own: for when he could not prevail with his Soldiers to stand to their Colours, but saw how cowardly they all deserted them; he commanded his own Standard to be taken up, and running to the foremost of those that fled, he led them forward, chusing rather that the disgrace should fall upon himself than his Country; and that they should not seem to fly, but, following their Captain, to make a retreat. The *Barbarians* assaulted and took the Fortress on the other side *Athesis*; where admiring at the few *Romans* there left; who had shewn themselves of an extream great Courage, and had fought worthy their Country, they dismissed them with an easie Composition, swearing them upon their Brazen Bull; which was afterwards taken in the Battel, and they say, carried to *Catulus's* House, as the chief Trophy of the Victory.

38. Thus falling in upon the Country, destitute of defence, they wasted it extreamly, whereupon *Marius* was presently sent for to the City; where when he arrived, every one supposing he would Triumph,

umph, the Senate too unanimously voting it, he himself did not think it convenient; whether that he were not willing to deprive his Soldiers and Officers of their share of the Glory; or that to encourage the People in this juncture, he would make the honour of his Victory give place to the present Fortune of the City; deferring it now to receive it afterwards with the greater Splendour. Having left such Orders as the occasion required, he hast'ned to *Catulus*, whose drooping Spirits he very much raised, and sent for his Army from *Gallia*: as soon as it came, he passing the River *Po*, endeavoured to drive the *Barbarians* out of that part of *Italy* which lies South of it.

39. But they pretending they were in expectation of the *Teutones*, and wondering they were so long in coming, deferred the Battel; either that they were really ignorant of their Defeat, or at least were willing to seem so (for they very much abused those that brought them such News) and sending to *Marius*, required some part of the Country for them and their Brethren, and Cities fit for them to inhabit. When *Marius* enquired of the Ambassadors who their Brethren were, and they calling them *Teutones*, all that were present fell out a laughing; but *Marius* scoffingly answered

swered them, *Do not trouble your selves for your Brethren, for we have already provided Lands for them, which they shall possess for ever.* The Ambassadors perceiving the jeer, railed at him, and threatned that the *Cimbri* would make him smart for it, and the *Teutones* too when they came. *And they are not far off,* replied *Marius*, *it will be very unkindly done of you to go away before you have taken leave of your Brethren;* saying so, he commanded the Kings of the *Teutones* to be brought out, as they were, in chains; for they were taken by the *Sequani* before they could make their escape from the *Alps*. This was no sooner made known to the *Cimbri*, but they with all expedition came against *Marius*, who then lay still and guarded his Camp.

*He allows
the fashion
of the
Piles.*

40. 'Tis said, that against this Battel *Marius* first made their Javelins after a new fashion; for before at the place where the Wood was joyned to the Iron, it was made fast with two Iron-pins; now *Marius* let one of them alone as it was, and pulling out the other put a weak wooden peg in its place; contriving it so, that when it was stuck in the Enemy's Shield, it should not stand right out; but the wooden peg breaking, the Iron should bend, and so the Pile sticking fast by its crooked point, should weigh down the Shield. Now *Bæorix*, King

of

of the *Cimbri*, came with a small Party of Horse to the *Roman* Camp, and challenged *Marius* to appoint the time and place, where they might meet and fight for the Country. *Marius* answered, *That the Romans never consulted their Enemies when to fight, however he would gratifie the Cimbri so far;* and so they pitched upon the third day after; for the place, the Plain near *Vercellæ*; which was convenient enough for the *Roman* Horse, and afforded room for the Enemy to display their Numbers.

41. They observed the time appointed, and drew out their Forces against each other. *Catulus* commanded 20300, and *Marius* 32000, who were placed in the two Wings, leaving to *Catulus* the Main Battle. *Sylla*, who was present at the Fight, gives this Relation, saying withal, that *Marius* drew up his Army in this Order, out of malice to *Catulus*; for he hoped, with his Wings stretched out farther, to fall in upon the Body of the Enemies Army [it being customary in that manner of embattelling, that the Army should represent a Crescent; the two extream Points much advancing, and the main Battel remaining behind] and to rout them before *Catulus* and his Army should be able to charge them. They observe likewise, that *Catulus* himself alledgeth this in vindication of his Honour, accusing

cusing this enviousness of *Marius*. The Infantry of the *Cimbri* marched quietly out of their Trenches, having their Flanks equal to their Front; (every side of the Army took up thirty furlongs) their Horse, that were in number 15000, made a very splendid appearance. They wore Helmets, whereon were the gapings of wild Beasts, and other strange shapes, which they heightning with Plumes of Feathers, appeared greater than they were; they had on Breast-plates of Iron, and white glittering Shields; and for their offensive Arms, every one had two-edged Darts, and when they came hand to hand, they used great and heavy Swords.

42. They did not fall directly upon the Front of the *Romans*, but turning to the right, they endeavoured to enclose them by little and little, getting the Enemy between them and their Infantry, who were placed in the left Wing. The *Roman* Commanders soon perceived the Design, but could not contain the Soldiers: for one happening to shout out, that the Enemy fled, they all hastned to pursue them; whereupon the *Barbarian* Foot came on moving like a great Ocean. Here *Marius*, having washed his hands, and lifting them up towards Heaven, vowed an *Hecatomb* to the Gods; and *Catulus* too in the same posture solemnly promised to consecrate a Temple to the Fortune

Fortune of that day : they say that *Marius* having the Victim shewed to him, as he was sacrificing, cried out with a loud voice, *The Victory is mine.*

43. However in the Engagement, they that write *Sylla's* Life, say, that *Marius* was very unfortunate; for a great dust being raised, which (as it might very probably happen) almost covered both the Armies; he, as soon as he had charged them, leading his Forces to the pursuit, missed of the Enemy; and having passed by their Army, for a good space wandered up and down the Field; mean while the Enemy by chance engaged with *Catulus*; and the heat of the Battel was chiefly with him and his men, among whom *Sylla* says he was. The *Romans* had great advantage of the heat and Sun that shone in the faces of the *Cimbri*; for they, though very well able to endure cold, as having been bred up in cool and shady places, (as we observed before) were yet overcome with the excessive Heat: they sweat extreemly, and were much out of breath, being forced to hold their Shields before their Faces; for this Battel was fought not long after the Summer Solstice; or, as the *Romans* reckon, about the third of the Calends of *August*, then called *Sex-tilis*. The Dust too gave no small addition to their Courage, in as much as it hid the
1 Enemy,

Enemy, for they could not afar off discover their number; but every one advancing to encounter those that were nearest to them, they were come to fight hand-to-hand before the sight of so vast a multitude had struck terror into them.

The Romans well exercised.

44. The *Romans* were so much used to labour, and so well exercised, that in all the heat and toil of the Encounter, not one of them was observed either to sweat, or to be out of breath, insomuch that they say *Catulus* recorded it in commendation of his Soldiers. Here the greatest part and most valiant of the Enemies were cut in pieces; for those that fought in the Front, that they should not break their Ranks, were fast tied to one another with long Chains put through their Belts. As they pursued those that fled to their Camp, they met with a most horrid Tragedy; the Women standing in Mourning by their Carriages, slew all that fled; some their Husbands, some their Brethren, others their Fathers; and strangling their little Children with their own hands, threw them under the Wheels, and Horses feet, and then killed themselves. They tell of one that was hanging on the very top of a Waggon, with her Children tied dangling at her heels; the men for want of Trees, tied themselves, some to the horns of the Oxen, the necks of others were

The Cimbrian Women's cruelty.

were fastned to their legs, that so pricking them on, by the starting and springing of the Beasts, they might be torn and troden to pieces. Yet for all they thus massacred themselves, above 60000 were taken Prisoners, and those that were slain were said to be twice as many.

45. The ordinary plunder *Marius's* Soldiers forcibly took away; but the other Spoils, as Ensigns, Trumpets, and the like they say, were brought to *Catulus's* Camp, which he used for the best Argument that the Victory was obtained by himself and his Army. Whereupon some Dissentions arising (as it often happens) among the Soldiers, the Ambassadors from *Parma* being then present, were made Judges of the Controversie; whom *Catulus's* men carried about among their slain Enemies, and manifestly shewed them that they were slain by their *Piles*, which were known by the Inscriptions, having *Catulus's* Name cut in the Wood: nevertheless the whole Glory of the Action was ascribed to *Marius*, by reason of his former Victory and under colour of his present Authority. The Populace more especially styling him the *third Founder of their City*, as having diverted a danger no less threatening than was that when the *Gauls* sacked *Rome*; and every one rejoicing at home

Marius and
Catulus
Triumph.

with his Wife and Children sacrificed to the Gods and to *Marius*; and would have had him solely to have the honour of both the Triumphs. However he would not do so, but Triumphed together with *Catulus*; being desirous to shew his Moderation even in so great Circumstances of good Fortune; besides, he was not a little afraid of the Soldiers in *Catulus's* Army, lest if he should wholly bereave their General of the Honour, they should endeavour to hinder him of his Triumph.

How Ma-
rius got his
sixth Con-
sulship.

46. *Marius* was now in his Fifth Consulship, and he used for the Sixth in such a manner as never any before him had done; he took the People by the hand, and ingratiated himself with the Multitude by his Complaisance, thereby not only derogating from the Publick Grandeur and Majesty of his Office, but acting also contrary to his own inclination, that so he might seem popular and obliging, for which nature had never designed him. He was, they say, exceeding timorous through his Ambition in any business which concerned the Government, or was handled in Publick Assemblies; and that undaunted presence of Mind he always shewed in Bat-tel against the Enemy, forsook him when he was to Harangue the People; being one that was apt to shew very great Concern
either

either at their commendation or dispraise. 'Tis reported, that having at one time made free of the City 1000 men of *Camerino*, who had behaved themselves valiantly in this War; and this seeming to be illegally done, some or other calling him to an account for it, he answered, that the Law spake too softly to be heard in such a noise of War: however he himself appeared to be more concerned and astonished at that noise which was made by the Assemblies. The need they had of him in time of War procured him his Wealth and Dignity; but in Civil Affairs when he despaired of getting the first place, he was forced to betake himself to the favour of the People, never regarding to be a good man, so that he were but a great One.

47. Whereupon he became very odious to all the Nobility, and especially fearing *Metellus*, who had been so ingratelously used by him; and who, being truly vertuous, was naturally an Enemy to those that managed the People, not for the publick good, but for their private pleasure. *Marius* therefore endeavoured to banish him the City, and to this purpose he contracted a familiar Acquaintance with *Glaucias* and *Saturninus*, a couple of daring resolute Fellows, who had a great company of poor seditious People at their beck; by their assistance

*His Faction
with Glaucias
and Saturninus.*

sistance he enacted certain Laws, and gathering some Soldiers, he placed them in the Assembly, and by this Faction oppressed *Metellus*. And as *Rutilius* relates (in all other respects a faithful and authentick Historian, but indeed privately an Enemy to *Marius*) he obtained his Sixth Consulship, by distributing vast Sums of Money among their Tribes, and so too bought their Votes to put by *Metellus* from the Office, and to elect *Valerius Flaccus* his Instrument rather than his Collegue in the Consulship. The People had never before bestowed so many Consulships on any one man, except on *Valerius Corvinus* only; and he too, they say, was forty five years between his first and last; but *Marius* from his first ran through five more with one push of his good Fortune.

48. In the last of which especially he contracted a great deal of hatred, by committing several gross misdemeanours in compliance with the irregular desires of *Saturninus*; among which was the murder of *Nonius*, * whom *Saturninus*, because he stood in comperion with him for the Tribuneship, slew; and afterwards being Tribune, made a Law about the division of Lands and fields, wherein it was provided, that the Senate should come and swear to confirm whatever the People should vote,

* 'Ο δ' οὗτος
 ὅς τις
 seems to be
 a mistake
 for *Nonius*.

vote, and not to oppose them in any thing. *Marius* in the Senate cunningly feigned to be against this Clause of the Law, and said, that he would not take any such Oath, nor any else, he thought, that were wise; for if there were no ill Design in the Law, it would be an affront to the Senate to be compelled to give their approbation, and not to do it rather willingly or by persuasion. This he said, not that it was agreeable to his own Sentiments, but that he might thereby entangle *Metellus* in an unavoidable snare; for making a great part of his Virtue and Gravity to consist in deceit, he made very little account of what he had openly professed to the Senate; he knowing too that *Metellus* was one of a fixed resolution, and (as *Pindar* has it) that esteemed *Truth the greatest Principle of Heroick Virtue*, designed by this his refusal of the Oath in the Senate to ensnare him by making him refuse the Law also; and thereby to cast such an *Odium* upon him with the People, as should never be wiped off. Which accordingly succeeded to his wish; for as soon as *Metellus* had declared that he would not swear to it, the Senate adjourned.

*His Design
to entrap
Metellus.*

49. Within a few days *Saturninus* citing the Senators to make their appearance, and pressing them to take the Oath, *Ma-*

rius stepped forth, (whereupon was a profound silence, and every one very intent upon him) and bidding farewell to those fine smooth Speeches he had before made in the Senate, said; That he was not grown so obstinate as to do any thing to the prejudice of so good a design; but would willingly swear and submit to the Law, if so be it were one (which Caution he added as a Pretext for his Impudence.) The People extreamly pleased at his taking the Oath, mightily extolled and applauded him, the Nobility were very much ashamed and vexed at *Marius's* Inconstancy; but they were forced, for fear of the People, to swear in order till it came to *Metellus's* turn. But he, though his Friends followed and entreated him to take the Oath, and not to plunge himself irrecoverably into those Penalties which *Saturninus* had provided for them that would not take it, would not flinch from his resolution, nor swear; but according to his usual custom, being ready to suffer any thing rather than do a base unworthy Action, left the *Forum* telling them that were with him, *That it was base to do any thing that is ill, and common to do well, where there is no danger; but where there is, even in despite of that, to do well was the property of a good man.*

50. Hereupon *Saturninus* put it to the Vote that the Consuls should declare *Metellus* banished, and that none should entertain him: there was enough too of the basest of People ready to kill him; and when many of the better sort were extreemly concerned for, and gathered about *Metellus*, he would not suffer them to raise a Sedition upon his account; but more advisedly left the City, saying; *Either when the posture of affairs is mended, and the People repent, I shall be recalled; or if things remain in the present posture, it will be best to be absent.* But how great Favour and Honour *Metellus* received in his Banishment, and after what manner he spent his time at *Rhodes* in Philosophy, we shall more opportunely shew you when we write his Life.

51. *Marius*, for this piece of Service done him, forced to connive at *Saturninus*, now arrived at the very height of Insolence and Force, had unawares occasioned such a flame as could not now be easily quenched, but by Outrages and Massacres directly tending to Tyranny and the Subversion of the Government; for standing in some awe of the Nobility, and withal flattering the Commonalty, he did a very cowardly and dishonest Action. When some of the great men came to him at night

His double dealing with the Senate and Commons.

to stir him up against *Saturninus*, he let him in unknown to them at the other door; then making the same pretences of doing his necessary occasions to both, he ran from one Party to the other, and staying one while with them and another with him, he instigated and exasperated them one against another. At length, when both the Senate and Equestrian Order, agreed together, and shewed their resentment at it, he filled the Market-place with Soldiers; and by cutting off the *Aqueducts*, he forced those that retreated to the Capitol to surrender for want of Water: they in this distress submitted themselves upon the Publick Faith, whom he endeavoured all ways imaginable to preserve, but without Success; for when they came into the *Forum*, they were all basely murdered. Hereupon equally odious both to the Nobility and Commons, when the time was come to create Censors, though he were the most likely man, yet he did not petition for it; but fearing the disgrace of being repulsed, permitted others his Inferiours to be elected; yet he pleased himself in giving out, that he was not willing to disoblige too many by a severe inspection into their Lives and Conversations.

Why he was
not Candidate
for
the Censor-
ship.

52. There was now an edict preferring to recal *Metellus* from Banishment; this he vigorously,

vigorously, but in vain, opposed both in his Discourse and Actions: yet at length desisted; for the People unanimously voting for it, and he not able to endure the sight of *Metellus's* Return, made a Voyage to *Cappadocia* and *Galatia*; giving out that he was to perform some Sacrifices, which he had vowed to *Cybele*; but had indeed another reason for his departure, which was not to be discovered to the People. He being one altogether ignorant of Civility and State-Affairs, had received all his advancement from the War; and then too supposing both his Power and Glory would by little and little decrease by his lying quiet and out of action, sought by all means to lay the Foundation of some new Commotions, and hoped too that by setting at variance some of the neighbour Kings, and by stirring up and exasperating *Mithridates* especially, who was then apparently making preparations for War, he himself should be chosen General against him, and so furnish the City with new matter of Triumph, and his own House with the Plunder of *Pontus*, and the Riches of its King. Wherefore, though *Mithridates* had entertained him with all imaginable obligingness and respect, yet he was not at all wrought upon or softened by it; but said, O King! either endeavour to be indeed

*His Impu-
dence to
Mithrida-
tes.*

deed more potent than the Romans, or else quietly submit to their Commands. With which he almost astonished him, having indeed often heard the Fame of the bold speaking of the *Romans*, but was now first acquainted with that Impudence.

53. When *Marius* returned again to *Rome*, he built an House close by the Market-place, either (as he himself gave out) that he was not willing his Clients should be tired with going far, or that he imagined it would cause the greater Concourse at his Gates: yet this was not the true reason neither; but because being inferiour to others in obliging Conversation and the Arts of Courtship, like a meer Tool and Implement of War, he was thrown aside in time of Peace. Amongst all those, whose brightness eclipsed his Glory, he was most extreamly incensed against *Sylla*, who had received his Rise from the hatred which the Nobility bore *Marius*; and had made his disagreement with him the first step of his Preferment. When *Bocchus* King of *Numidia*, who was stiled the Associate of the *Romans*, dedicated some Trophies of Victory in the *Capitol*, and by them the Picture of himself in Gold delivering *Jugurtha* to *Sylla*: *Marius* upon this was almost distracted with rage and Ambition (as though *Sylla* had arrogated this Honour to himself) and endeavoured

*His dispute
with Sylla.*

endeavoured forcibly to pull down these Presents: *Sylla* on the other side as vigorously resisted him, but the War of the Confederates then on a sudden threatening the City, put a stop to this Sedition just ready to break out. Now the most warlike and best peopled Countries of all *Italy* conspired together against *Rome*, and were within a little of subverting the Empire; their chief strength consisting not only in their *Weapons* and the *Valour of their Soldiers*; but standing upon equal terms with the *Romans*, as to the *Courage and sufficiency of their Commanders*.

The Confederates War.

54. This War so various as to its Encounters, and so uncertain as to its Success, what Glory and Power it conferred upon *Sylla*, of so much it deprived *Marius*, who seemed not to be very brisk in his Charges, but was for the most part guilty of Delays, Retreats and almost Cowardice; whether it were, that his Age had quenched that heat and vigour he was formerly Master of (for he was now above sixty five years old;) or that, as he himself said, having some distemper in his Nerves, and his Body unfit for Action, he had for meer shame ventured upon some Expeditions above his strength. Yet for all this he came off Victor in a considerable Battel, wherein he slew 6000 of the Enemies, and never gave them

them any advantage over him. Nay, though he was once furrounded by the Works of the Enemy he contained himself; and though insulted over, braved, and challenged, yet he seemed not much concerned at it. There goes a report, that when one

* Or Pope-
dius.

* *Publius Silo*, a man of the greatest Worth and Authority among the Enemies, said to him; *If thou beest that great Captain Marius, come to a Battel*; he answered, *If you be such an one, force me to fight*. And another time, when the Enemy gave them a good opportunity of a Battel; and the Romans through fear durst not charge, so that both Parties retreated; he called an Assembly of his Soldiers, and said; *It is no small question whether I should call the Enemies or you the greater Cowards, for neither dare they face your backs nor you theirs*.

55. At length pretending to be worn out with the Infirmary of his Body, he laid down his Command. Afterwards when the *Italians* were worsted, several at *Rome*, by the Interest of those that led the People, sued for Employment in the War with *Mithridates*. *Sulpitius* Tribune of the People, a bold resolute Fellow, contrary to every body's expectation bringing in *Marius*, declared him Proconsul and General in that War; whereupon the People were divided, some were on *Marius's* side, others voted

voted for *Sylla*; and jeeringly bad *Marius* go to his Baths at *Baiæ* to cure his Body worn out, as himself confessed, with Age and Catarrhs. Now *Marius* had indeed there, about *Misenum*, a *Villa* more effeminately and luxuriously furnished than became a man employed in so many and great Wars and Expeditions. This same House *Cornelia* bought for 75000 *Denarii*, and not long after *Lucius Lucullus* for 250000; in so short a time did the Luxury and Effeminacy of the *Romans* increase. After all this, *Marius* very ambitiously and childishly affecting to shake off his Age and weakness, went into the Field, where exercising himself with the Youth, he shewed himself still nimble in his Armour, and expert in riding; though indeed he were grown less active in his Age by reason of his great belly, and his inclining to fatness and corpulency.

Marius affects to be thought young.

56. These Actions of his pleased some that went to see his vain-glory in those Jufts and Exercifes; but the better sort that saw him, pitied his Avarice and Ambition, that from a begger growing so extreamly rich, and from nothing becoming so great, would know no bounds of his good Fortune, nor be content with being admired, and quietly enjoy what he had already got; but, as if he still were in extream poverty, should

should at so great an Age leave Glory and Triumphs to go into *Cappadocia* and the *Euxine* Sea, to fight *Archelaus* and *Neoptolemus*, *Mithridates's* Generals. *Marius's* pretences for this Action of his seemed very ridiculous; for he said he had a mind himself to educate his Son in that War. This soon ruined the City, which had been a long time sick of such practices, when *Marius* had once found so opportune an Instrument for the publick destruction as *Sulpicius's* Insolence.

Sulpicius's
Riot.

57. This Fellow in all other respects admired and imitated *Saturninus*; only found fault with his Cowardice and backwardness in his Designs; he therefore made no such foolish delays, but got 600 Horse about him as his Guard, which he named *Anti-Senators*; with these Assassines he set upon the Consuls whilst they were at the Assembly, and took the Son of one of them, who fled from the Market-place, and slew him. *Sylla* being hotly pursued, took into *Marius's* House, which none could suspect (by that means escaping those that sought him, who hastily passed by there) and it is said was safely conveyed by *Marius* himself out at the other door, and came to the Camp. Yet *Sylla* in his Memoirs positively denies that he fled to *Marius*, but that he was carried thither to consult of those matters

matters, to which *Sulpitius* would have forced him against his Will to consent; that he, surrounding him with drawn Swords, hurried him to *Marius*, and restrained him thus, till he should go thence to the Market place, and put such a Conclusion to these Affairs as his Masters the People would approve.

58. Whilst these things were acting, *Sulpitius* having obtained the sole Power, decreed the Command of the Army to *Marius*; who making preparations for his March, sent two Tribunes to receive the charge of the Army from *Sylla*. *Sylla* hereupon exasperating his Soldiers (which were six Legions, or about 5000 Horse, and 30000 Foot) brought them to *Rome*, who first falling upon the Tribunes *Marius* had sent, slew them; and *Marius* did as much for several of *Sylla's* Friends in *Rome*, and made many of the Slaves free, that he might have their assistance in the War; whereof they say, there were but three that answered his expectation. He, for some small time, made head against *Sylla's* assault, but was soon over-powred and fled; those that were with him, as soon as he had escaped out of the City, were dispersed, and Night coming on, he hastened to a Country-house of his, called *Solonium*. Hence he sent his Son to some

Sylla
drives Ma-
rius from
Rome.

K

neigh-

neighbouring Farms of his Father-in-law *Mutius*, to provide Necessaries; himself went to *Ostia*, where his Friend *Numerius* had prepared him a Ship, and not staying for his Son, he took with him his Son-in-law *Granius*, and weighed Anchor.

Young Ma-
rius's es-
cape.

59. Young *Marius*, as soon as he came to *Mutius's* Farms, and had ordered some small matters, the day breaking, he was almost discovered by the Enemy; for there came thither a Party of Horse that suspected some such matter; whom when the Steward perceived, he hid *Marius* in a Cart full of Beans, then putting to his Team, and driving toward the City, he met those that were in search of him. *Marius* thus conveyed home to his Wife, took with him some Necessaries, and came at Night to the Sea-side, where going on board a Ship that was bound for *Africk*, he went away with it. *Marius* the Father, when he had put to Sea, with a good gale passing along the Coast of *Italy*, was in no small apprehension of one *Geminus*, a great a man at *Tarracina*, and his Enemy; and therefore bad the Sea men hold off from that place: they were indeed willing to gratifie him, but the Wind rising at Sea, and making the Waves swell to a great height, they were afraid the Ship would not be able to weather out the Storm, *Marius* too being indisposed and Sea-sick,

sick, they with great difficulty reached the Haven at *Circæum*.

60. The Storm now increasing, and their Victuals failing, they put to Shore, and wandered up and down they knew not whither (as it usually happens in great Distresses;) they always shun the present as the greatest evil, and relie upon the hopes of uncertainties; for the Land and Sea were both equally unsafe for them, it was dangerous to meet with People, and it was no less so to meet with none, by reason of their want of Necessaries. At length, though late first, they light upon a few poor Shepherds, that had not any thing to relieve them; but knowing *Marius*, advised him to depart as soon as might be, for they had seen a little beyond that place a Party of Horse that were gone in search of him. Whereupon finding himself in a great straight, especially because those that attended him were not able to go farther, being spent with their long fasting; he turned aside out of the Road, and hid himself in a thick Wood, where he passed the Night in great distress. The next day pinched with hunger, and willing to make use of the little strength he had, before it were all exhausted, he travelled by the Sea side, encouraging his Companions not to desert him in the last of his hopes, for which he reserved

Marius's |
distress.

*His good
Hopes.*

ved himself, relying on the credit of some old Prophecies.

61. That when he was yet but very young and lived in the Country, he brought home in the skirt of his Garment an Eagle's Nest, wherein were seven young ones, which his Parents seeing and much admiring, consulted the Augures about it, who told them, that he should become the greatest man in the World, and that the Fates had decreed he should seven times be possessed of the Supream Power and Authority. Some are of Opinion that this really happ'ned to *Marius* after the same manner we have related it; others say, that those men who then and through the rest of his Exile heard him tell these Stories and believed him, have recorded a Relation altogether fabulous; for an Eagle never hatches more than two; besides they give *Musæus* the Lye, who speaking of the Eagle, say, *That she lays three Eggs, hatches two, and nourishes but one.* Whatever this be, it is certain *Marius* in his Exile and greatest Extremities would often say, that he had still a prospect of a Seventh Consulship.

62. When *Marius* and his company were now about twenty furlongs distant from *Minturnæ*, a City in *Italy*, they espied a Troop of Horse making up toward them
with

with all speed, and by chance also at the same time two Ships under sail; whereupon they ran every one with what speed and strength they could to the Sea, and plunging themselves into it, swam to the Ships. Those that were with *Granius* seized upon one of them, and passed over to an opposite Island called *Ænaria*; *Marius* himself, whose Body was heavy and unwieldy, was with great pains and difficulty born above the Water by two Servants, and put into the other Ship. The Soldiers were by this time come to the Sea-side, and from thence commanded the Sea-men to put to Shoar, or else to throw out *Marius*, and then they might go whither they would. *Marius* besought them with tears to the contrary; and the Masters of the Ship, after some consultation, which inclined first to one then to the other side, resolved at length to answer the Soldiers, that *they would not throw out Marius*. As soon as they were gone in a rage, the Sea-men immediately changing their resolution, came to Land, and casting Anchor at the mouth of the River *Liris*, where it overflowing makes a great Marish; they advised him to Land, refresh himself on Shore, and take some care of his discomposed body, till the Wind came fairer, which, say they, will happen at such an hour, when the

Wind from the Sea will calm, and that from the Marishes rise. *Marius* following their advice, did so, and when the Sea-men had set him on Shore, he laid him down in an adjacent Field, suspecting nothing less than what was to befall him. They, as soon as they had got into the Ship, weighed Anchor and departed, as thinking it neither honourable to deliver *Marius* into the hands of those that sought him, nor safe to protect him.

63. He thus deserted by all, lay a good while silently on the Shore; at length, recollecting himself, he travelled very disconsolately through by-ways, till wading through deep Bogs and Ditches full of Water and Mud, he stumbled upon the Old man's Cottage that looked after the Fens; and falling at his Feet, he besought him to assist and preserve a man, who if he escaped the present danger, would make him returns beyond his expectation. The poor man, whether he had formerly known him, or were then moved with his Venerable Aspect, told him, that if he wanted only rest, his Cottage would be convenient; but if he were flying from any body's search, he would hide him in a more retired place. *Marius* desiring him to do so, he carried him into the Fens, and bad him hide himself in an hollow Cave by the River

ver

ver side, where he laid upon him a great many Reeds and other things that were light, and would cover, but not oppress him. But within a very small time he was disturbed with a noise and tumult from the Cottage, for *Geminus* had sent several from *Tarracina* in pursuit of him; whereof some happ'ning to come that way, frightened and threatned the poor Old-man for having entertained and hid an Enemy of the *Romans*. Wherefore *Marius* arising and uncovering himself, plunged into a puddle full of thick muddy water; and even there he could not escape their search, but was pulled out naked of Cloaths, but covered with mire, and in that pickle carried away to *Minturnæ*, and delivered into the Magistrate's Power; for there had been a Proclamation through all those Towns, to make publick search for *Marius*, and if they found him to kill him; however the Magistrates thought convenient to consider a little better of it first, and sent him Prisoner to the House of one *Fannia*.

Marius is taken and sent to Minturnæ.

64. This Woman was supposed not very well affected towards him upon an old account. One *Timius* had formerly married this *Fannia*; from whom she afterwards being divorced, demanded her Portion, which was considerable; but her Husband

Fannias's kindness to him.

accused her of Adultery ; so the Controversie was brought before *Marius* in his Sixth Consulship ; when the cause was examined thorowly, it appeared both that *Fannia* had been incontinent, and that her Husband, though he knew her to be so, had married and lived a considerable time with her. So that *Marius* was severe enough with both ; commanding him to restore her Portion, and laying a small Fine upon her by way of disgrace. But *Fannia* did not then behave her self like one that had been injured, but as soon as she saw *Marius* remembred nothing less than old Affronts ; took care of him according to her ability, and very much comforted him. He made her his returns, and told her he did not despair, for he had met with a very lucky Omen, which was thus ; When he was brought to *Fannia's* House, as soon as the door was open, an Ass came running out to drink at a Spring hard by, and looking very pertly and briskly upon *Marius*, first stood still before him, then brayed aloud and pranced by him. Upon which *Marius* making his observation, said, That the Fates designed his safety to be procured rather by Sea than Land, because the Ass neglected his dry Fodder, and turned from it to the Water. Having told *Fannia* this Story he commanded the Chamber-

His good
Omen.

ber-door to be shut, and went to rest.

65. Mean while the Governors and Senators of *Minturnæ* consulted together, and determined, not to delay any longer, but immediately to kill *Marius*; and when none of their Citizens durst undertake the business, a certain Soldier, a *Gaul* or *Cimber* (the story is told of both) went in with his Sword drawn to him; the Room it self was not very light, that part of it especially, where he then lay, was dark, from whence *Marius's* Eyes, they say, seemed to the Fellow to dart out flames at him, and a loud voice to say, *Fellow, darrest thou kill C. Marius?* The Ruffian hereupon immediately fled, and leaving his Sword in the place, rushed out of doors, crying only this, *I cannot kill C. Marius.* At which they were all at first astonished, afterwards pitied him, and reversed their Sentence, and were even angry at themselves for making so unjust and ungrateful a Decree against one who had preserved *Italy*, and whom it was base not to assist to their utmost. *Let him go*, say they, *where he please to banishment, let him find his Fate somewhere else; we beg pardon of the Gods for thrusting Marius distressed and deserted out of our City.*

66. Whilst they were taken up with such like thoughts, there came a great company about

A Gaul attempts to kill him.

He is brought by Minturnæ to the Sea.

about him, and conducted him towards the Sea-side, where though every one was very officious to him, and all made what haste they could, yet a considerable time was spent; for there was a Grove called *Marice* (which the People thereabouts held sacred, and suffered nothing that is brought into it to be carried out again) this lay just in their way to the Sea, and if they should go round about, they must needs come very late thither. At length one of the Old men cried out and said, there was no place so sacred, but they might pass through it for *Marius's* preservation; and thereupon first of all taking up some of the Baggage that was carried for his accommodation to the Ship, passed through the Grove, all the rest immediately with the same readiness accompanying him. [He afterwards had the Picture of these things drawn and placed it in a Temple thereabouts.] One *Belæus* having by this time provided him a Ship, *Marius* there went on board, and hoisting Sail, was by chance thrown upon the Island *Ænaria*, where meeting with *Granius* and his other Friends, he sailed with them to *Africk*. But their water failing them in the way, they were forced to put in at *Erycine* in *Sicily*, where was a *Roman Quæstor* presiding over those Places, who had almost taken *Marius* going on Shore,

Shore, and killed sixteen of his retinue that went to fetch Water. *Marius* with all expedition loosing thence, passed over to the Isle *Meniux*, where he first heard the News of his Son's escape with *Cethegus*, and of his going to implore the assistance of *Hiempsal* King of *Numidia*.

67. With this News being somewhat comforted, he ventured to pass from that Isle towards *Carthage*. *Sextilius* a Roman was then Pretor in *Africk*; one that had never received either any Injury or kindness from *Marius*, yet he hoped he would out of meer pity lend him some help. He was now scarce got ashore with a small retinue, when an Officer was sent to him, and meeting him, said, *Sextilius the Pretor forbids thee, Marius, to set foot in Africk; if thou doest, he says, he will put the Decree of the Senate in execution, and treat thee as an Enemy to the Romans.* When *Marius* heard this he wanted Words to express his Grief and Repentment, and for a good while held his peace, looking sternly upon the Messenger, who asked him what he should say, or what answer he should return to the Pretor? *Marius* answered him with a deep sigh; *Go tell him that you have seen C. Marius sitting upon the Rubbish of Carthage: very appositely applying the example of the Fortune of that City to the Change of his own Condition.* 68. In

*Hiempsal's
designs upon
young Ma-
rius.*

68. In the interim, *Hiempsal*, King of *Numidia*, often changing his Designs, treated young *Marius* and those that were with him very honourably; but when they had a mind to depart, he still had some pretence or other to detain them; and it was manifest he made these delays upon no good designs; however there hap'ned a strange accident (as it sometimes falls out) that made well for their preservation. The hard Fortune which still attended young *Marius*, who was of a very comely Aspect, nearly touched one of the King's Concubines, and this pity of hers was the beginning and pretence for her Love. At first he declined the Woman's solicitations, but when he perceived that there was no other way of escaping, and that she caressed him with greater kindness than one that designed only the gratifying her sensuality, he complied with her Love, and being thereupon set at liberty by her, he escaped with his Friends, and fled to his Father *Marius*. As soon as they had saluted each other, and were going by the Sea-side, they saw some Scorpions fighting, which *Marius* took for an ill Omen, whereupon they immediately went on board a little Fisher-boat, and made toward *Cercina*, an Island not far distant from the Continent. They had scarce put off from Shore when they

*He makes
his escape.*

they escaped some Horse sent after them by the King, with all speed making toward that very place from which they were just retired; so that *Marius* thought that in all his Life he had never escaped a greater danger.

69. At *Rome* it was discovered that *Sylla* Cinna raised a Sedition. was engaged with *Mithridates's* Generals near *Bæotia*, whilst the Consuls from a Tumult were fallen to down-right fighting, wherein *Octavius* prevailing, drove *Cinna* out of the City for affecting a Tyrannical Government, and made *Cornelius Merule* Consul in his stead; but *Cinna* raising Forces in all Parts of *Italy*, carried on the War against them. As soon as *Marius* heard of this, he resolved with all expedition to put Marius returns to Italy. to Sea again, and having leavied in *Africk* some *Maurusian* Horse, and a few others that came to him out of *Italy* (which all together were not above 1000) he with this handful began his Voyage. Arriving at *Telamone*, an Haven in *Hetruria*, and coming ashore, he made several of the Slaves free; many of the Country-men also and Shepherds thereabouts (that were already Freeman) at the hearing his name came flocking to him to the Sea-side; he perswaded the most warlike of them, and in a small time got together a competent Army, wherewith he filled forty Ships. Now he knowing

And joins
himself
with Cin-
na.

knowing *Ottavius* to be a very good man, and willing to execute his Office with the greatest Justice imaginable, and *Cinna* to be suspected by *Sylla*, and then in actual War against the established Government, determined to join himself and all his Forces with the latter: he therefore sent a Message to him to let him know, *that he submitted himself to him, as Consul, in whatsoever he should command him.*

70. When *Cinna* had very joyfully received him, calling him Proconsul, and sending him the *Fasces* and other *Ensigns of Authority*, he said, that Grandeur did not become his present Fortune; but wearing an ordinary Habit, and letting his hair grow from that very day he first went to banishment, and being now above threescore and ten years old, he came slowly on foot, as designing to move Peoples compassion; (thus his naturally rough Aspect became more so, when joined with his nasty Garb) which yet did not make him appear as though his mind were dejected, but exasperated, by the change of his condition. Having performed his Ceremonies to *Cinna*, and saluted the Soldiers, he immediately prepared for War, and soon made a considerable alteration in the posture of Affairs. He first cut off all Provision from the Enemies Ships, and plundering all the Traders,

Traders, possessed himself of their Stores; then bringing his Navy to the Sea-port Towns, took them, and at last treacherously became Master of *Ostia* too; pillaged the Town, and slew a Multitude of the Inhabitants, and making a Bridge over the River, he took from the Enemy all hopes of Supply from the Sea; then marched with his Army toward the City, and posted himself upon the Hill called *Janiculum*.

71. The *Publick Interest* did not receive so great damage from *Octavius's* unskilfulness in his management of Affairs, as from his omitting what was necessary, through his too strict observance of the Law: for he, when several advised him to make the Slaves free; said, *That he would not commit the protection of his Country to Servants from which he then, in defence of the Laws, was driving away Marius.* When *Metellus* (Son to that *Metellus*, who was general in the War in *Africk*, and afterwards banished through *Marius's* means) came to *Rome*, and was esteemed to be a much better Commander than *Octavius*; the Soldiers deserting the Consul, came to him, and desired him to take the Command of them and preserve the City; that they, when they had got an experienced valiant Commander, should fight courageously and come off

*Octavius's
ill Conduct,*

off Conquerors. But *Metellus* offended at it, commanded them angrily to return to the Consul; whereupon for very spight they revolted to the Enemy. *Metellus* too seeing the City in a desperate condition, left it; but a Company of *Chaldeans*, *Priests and Interpreters of the Sibyls Books*, perswaded *Octavius*, that things were in a good condition, and kept him at *Rome*. Now he was a man of all the *Romans* the most upright and just; one that kept up even the Formalities of the Law inviolable in his Consulship; but fell I know not how into some weaknesses, giving more observance to Impostors and Diviners, than to men skilled in Civil and Military Affairs. He therefore, before *Marius* entred the City, was pulled down from the *Rostra*, and murdered by those that were sent before by *Marius*; and it is reported there was a *Chaldean* Inscription found on his breast when he was slain. Now it is a thing very unaccountable, that of two such Famous Generals, *Marius* should be often preserved by the observing Divinations, and *Octavius* ruined by the same means.

Marius and Cinna are called to Rome.

72. Whilst Affairs remained in this posture, the Senate assembled, and sent Ambassadors to *Cinna* and *Marius*, desiring them to come into the City peaceably and spair the Citizens. *Cinna* as Consul received the Embassy

Embassy sitting in the *Sella Curulis*, and returned a kind obliging answer to the Messengers: *Marius* stood by him and said nothing, but gave sufficient testimony by the sowness of his Countenance, and the sternness of his Looks, that he would in a short time fill the City with Massacres. As soon as the Council arose, they went toward the City, where *Cinna* with a strong Guard entred; but *Marius* stay'd at the Gates, and dissembling his Rage, said; *That he was then an Exile and banished his Country by course of Law; That if his Presence were necessary, they must by a new Decree repeal the former Act by which he was banished, as if he had been a religious observer of the Laws, and as if he entred into a City free from fear or oppression.* Hereupon the People were assembled, but before three or four Tribes had given their Votes, he throwing off his Mask and Pretences of the Justice of his Banishment, came into the City with a select Guard of Slaves, which came in to him, whom he called *Bardiæi*. Those Fellows by his Orders murdered a great company at his express Command, and as many at his private beck. At length *Aucharius* a Senator, and one that had been Pretor, coming to *Marius*, but not being resaluted by him, they with their drawn Swords slew him

L before

Marius's
cruelty.

before *Marius's* Face; and henceforth this was their token immediately to kill all those who met *Marius*, and saluted him, were taken no notice of, or not answered with the like Courtesie: so that his very Friends were not without dreadful apprehensions and horror, whensoever they came to attend him.

73. When they had now butchered a great number, *Cinna* grew more remiss and cloy'd with Murders; but *Marius's* rage was still fresh and unsatisfied, and he daily sought for all that were any way suspected by him. Now was every street, and every corner of the City filled with those that pursued and haunted them that fled and hid themselves; and it was remarkable that there was no more confidence to be placed, as things stood, either in Hospitality or Friendship; for there were found but a very few that did not betray those that fled to them for shelter. Wherefore the Servants of *Cornutus* deserve the greater praise and admiration; who having concealed their Master in the House, took a body of one of the slain, cut off the head, put a Gold ring on the Finger, and shewed it to *Marius's* Guards, and buried it with the same Solemnity as if it had been their own Master. This trick was perceived by no body, but so *Cornutus* escaped and was con-

Cornutus
preserved
by his Ser-
vants.

conveyed by his Domesticks into *Gallia*.

74. *Marcus Antonius* the Orator, though he too found a true Friend, had ill Fortune. The man was but poor and a Plebeian, who entertaining a man of the greatest rank in *Rome*, and kindly furnishing him with what he had, sent his Servant to get some Wine of a neighbouring Vintner; the Servant carefully tasting it, and bidding him draw better, the Fellow asked him what was the matter, that he did not buy new and ordinary Wine as he used to do, but richer and of a greater price; he without any design told him as his Crony and Acquaintance, that his Master entertained *Marcus Antonius* whom he concealed. The villainous Vintner, as soon as the Servant was gone, went himself to *Marius* then at Supper, and being brought into his Presence, told him, he would deliver *Antonius* into his hands; as soon as he heard it, it is said he gave a great shout, and clapped his hands for joy, and had very nigh rose up and gone to the place himself; but being detained by his Friends, he sent *Annius* and some Soldiers with him, and commanded him to bring *Antonius's* head to him with all speed. Now when they came to the House, *Annius* stay'd at the door, and the Soldiers went up stairs into the Chamber; where, seeing *Antonius*, they

*Marcus
Antonius
slain.*

endeavoured to shuffle off the Murther from one to another; for so great it seems were the Graces and Charms of his Oratory, that as soon as he began to speak and beg his Life, none of them durst touch or so much as look upon him; but hanging down their heads, every one fell a weeping. When their stay seemed something tedious, *Annius* followed after, saw *Antonius* discouraging, and the Soldiers astonished and quite softned by it, for which he checked them severely, and went himself and cut off his head.

*Carulus
kills him-
self.*

75. *Catulus Lutatius* who was Collegue with *Marius* and his Partner in the Triumph over the *Cimbri*, when *Marius* had told those that interceded for him and begged his life, that he must die, shut himself up in a room, and making a great fire smothered himself. When maimed and headless Carcasses were now frequently thrown about and trampled upon in the streets, People were not so much moved with compassion at the sight, as struck into a kind of Horrour and consternation. The outrages of those that were called *Bardiæi* was the greatest grievance imaginable; for they murdered those that had been their Masters in their own Houses, abused their Children, and ravished their Wives, and were uncontrolable in their Ra-
pine

*The villai-
nies and
punishment
of the Bar-
dixi.*

pine and Murthers, till those of *Cinna's* and *Sertorius's* Party taking Counsel together, fell upon them in the Camp, and killed them every man.

76. In the interim, as by a certain turn of Fortune, there came News from all Parts, that *Sylla* having put an end to the War with *Mithridates*, and taken possession of the Provinces, was returning into *Italy* with a great Army. This gave some small respite and intermission to these unspeakable Calamities, when they thought that a War threatned them; whereupon *Marius* was chosen Consul the Seventh time, and appearing on the very Calends of *January*, the beginning of the Year, he threw one *Sextus Lucinius* from the *Tarpejan* Precipice, which was no small Omen of approaching miseries both to their Party and the City. *Marius* himself now worn out with Labour and sinking under the burthen of his Cares, could not bear up his Spirits flagging with the apprehension of a New War, and fresh Encounters and Dangers, which he had by his own experience found formerly very troublesome. He considered too that he was not now to hazard the War with *Octavius* or *Merula*, commanding the unexperienced Multitude or seditious Rabble; but that *Sylla* himself was approaching, the same who had formerly banished him, and since that

Marius's
Seventh
Consulship.

driven *Mithridates* as far as the *Euxine* Sea.

His discontent and death.

77. Perplexed with such thoughts as these, and calling to mind his Banishment, the tedious wanderings and dangers he underwent both by Sea and Land, he fell into great Troubles, nocturnal Frights and unquiet Sleep, still fancying that he heard some telling him, *That the Den, though of an absent Lion, is dreadful*; above all things fearing to lie awake, he gave himself over to drinking and sotting at Nights very unagreeable to his Age; by all means provoking Sleep, as a diversion to his Thoughts. At length there came an express Messenger from the Sea, giving him such an account of Affairs as overcharged him with fresh Cares and Frights; so that what with his fear for the future, and what with the weight and tediousness of the present, having some small disposition to it, he fell into a Plurisie, as *Possidonius* the Philosopher relates, who says he went to, and discoursed with him when he was sick, about some business relating to his Embassy. One *Cajus Piso* an Historian tells us, that *Marius* walking after Supper with his Friends, when they fell into a discourse about his concerns, and reckoned up the several changes of his Condition, that from the beginning had happened to him, he said, that

that it did not become a prudent man to trust himself any longer with Fortune; and thereupon taking leave of those that were with him, he kept his bed seven days, and then died.

78. Some say he very much betrayed his Ambition even in his Sickness, and fell into an extravagant frenzy, fancying himself to be General in the War against *Mithridates*, acting such postures and motions of his body, as he used when he was in the Battel; with frequent Shouts and loud Acclamations, with so strong and invincible a desire of being employed in that business as he possessed through his Pride and Emulation. He, though he had now lived threescore and ten Years, and was the first man that ever was chosen seven times Consul, possessed of such a Palace, and so great Riches as were sufficient for many Kings, yet complained of his ill Fortune; that he must now die before he had attained what he desired. *Plato when he saw his death approaching, thanked his God and Fortune; First, that he was born a man and a Grecian, not a Barbarian or a Brute, and next, that he happened to live in Socrates's Age. And so indeed they say Antipater of Tarsus, in* Plato.
like manner at his death recollecting what prosperity he had enjoyed, did not so much as omit his happy Voyage to Athens; thus Antipater.

returning to every favour of his indulgent Fortune with the greatest acknowledgments, and retaining it to the very last in his memory, than which *Man hath not a more secure Treasure*. But on the contrary, Persons foolish and ungrateful to God and Nature, lose the enjoyment of their present prosperity by fancying something better to come; whereas by Fortune we may be prevented of this, but that can never be taken from us. Yet they reject their present success, as though it did not concern them, and do nothing but dream of future uncertainties; and in this they have but what they deserve, for till they have by Learning and Education laid a good Foundation for external Superstructures; in the seeking after and gathering them, they can never satisfy the unlimited desires of their mind.

80. Thus died *Marius* on the Seventeenth Day of his Seventh Consulship, to the great Joy and content of *Rome*; which thereby was in good hopes to be delivered from the Calamity of an Insolent, bloody and fatal Tyranny; but in a small time they found, that they had only changed their old Master for another young and vigorous; so much cruelty and salvageness did his Son *Marius* shew in murdering the Nobility; At the first being esteemed resolute

Young *Marius*.

lute and daring towards his Enemies, he was named the Son of *Mars*, but afterwards his actions betraying his contrary disposition, he was called the Son of *Venus*. At last he was besieged by *Sylla* in *Præneste*, where he endeavoured by all means to save his life, but in vain; for when the City was taken, there being no way of escape, he slew himself.

THE

THE
LIFE
OF
LYSANDER.

By the Honourable *Charles*
BOYLE of *Christ-Church*.

VOLUME III.

IN a treasury of the *Acantbii* at *Delphos* this is one of the Inscriptions, *BRA-
SIDAS AND THE ACANTHII
TOOK THIS FROM THE A-
THENIANS.* From hence many are of
Opinion that the marble statue within the
Temple door was design'd for *Brasidas*, but 'tis
rather *Lysander's*, whom it represents ex-
actly with his Hair in its full growth, and
a long comely Beard, both after the old
Lace-

LYSANDER.



APR 27 1862



Lacedæmonian fashion. The account of this custom is not to be plac'd so low as some people would have it; it not being true that the *Argives* shav'd themselves for grief after a great overthrow, and that the *Spartans* on the contrary flush'd with victory let their Hair grow beyond its usual length; neither can we allow that because the *Bacchiadæ* when they fled from *Corinth* to *Lacedæmon*, seem'd mean and despicable, upon account of their being shav'd. The *Lacedæmonians* for that reason began to esteem long Hair. This custom may be trac'd very easily from *Lycurgus*, who us'd to say, That Hair made handsome men appear more beautiful to the eye, and the unhandsome more terrible.

'Tis generally agreed that *Aristoclitus* *Lyfander's* Father, though he was not immediately descended from royal ancestors, was however, some way, related to the Family of the *Heraclidæ*. *Lyfander* himself was bred up under much hardship, and behav'd himself all along with a due respect to the discipline, and manners of his Country. He was brave, and above all sort of pleasure, that alone excepted which arose from a sense of honour, and the applause that attends just and generous Actions; and to indulge this pleasure was very excusable at *Sparta*, where their youth was fir'd with

an early desire of Glory, taught to be dejected under disgrace, and rais'd by commendation. And he that was insensible of these, was look'd upon as one of a mean spirit, and incapable of aspiring to any thing that's great or manly. That emulation then and thirst after fame which appear'd in the whole course of *Lyfander's* Life we have no reason to blame him for; it came from his Country, and education; but another fault he had which was purely his own; He paid too servile a deference and more than became a *Spartan*, to great men; and where his interest was concern'd, bore the frowns of men in Authority something too patiently. Which however by some is reckon'd no small part of Policy.

Aristotle, where he observes that great wits are generally inclin'd to Melancholy (instanc-ing in *Socrates*, *Plato* and *Hercules*) says too, that *Lyfander*, though not in his Youth, was in his declining Age subject to it. But that which peculiarly distinguish'd his Character, was the way he had of making poverty sit well upon him, and of keeping his mind steady and untainted under the greatest affluence. For he reserv'd nothing for himself out of all those spoils of Gold and Silver that he brought from the *Attick* War, but liberally dispers'd 'em among his Country-men, who upon this increase of riches began to value
em

'em as much as they despis'd 'em before. Another instance of his generous disposition was this, when *Dionysius* the Tyrant wou'd have presented his Daughters with some Garments of a rich Embroidery, he refus'd 'em, with that handsome excuse, That they were fit only to make unhappy faces more remarkable: But this temper wore off by degrees; for being sent Embassador some time after to the same Tyrant who offer'd him the choice of two Vests, I like this best says he, and modestly took both.

After a long continuance of the *Peloponnesian* War, when the *Athenians* had receiv'd a great blow in *Sicily*, and were under fearful apprehensions of a total overthrow both by Sea and Land, *Alcibiades* being recall'd from banishment, manag'd the War with such success that he quickly chang'd the whole scene of Affairs, and after some engagements, made the *Athenians* equal in naval power to the *Lacedaemonians*, who now began to be sensible of their dangerous condition, and were resolv'd to exert themselves more vigorously. They knew this design requir'd greater preparations and a bold Commander. After the strictest enquiry they found none of more ability for this service than *Lysander*.

In

In discharge of this new Office he went to *Ephesus*, and found that City particularly well inclin'd to him, and withal wholly in the interest of the *Lacedæmonians*, though at that time in very mean circumstances, and almost over-run with the barbarous *Persian* customs, by reason of their frequent commerce with 'em, being situated opportunely enough to invite the great Officers of that kingdom often to reside there. This kind reception he met with from the *Ephesians* engag'd him to pitch his Tents among 'em. He commanded all Victuallers to be brought into their harbour, and built a dock for his capital Ships, and by this means their ports were frequented by Merchants, their exchange was full of business, and their Shops had a plentiful Trade; so that this City is so far oblig'd to *Lysander* that it ought to date from that time the hope and rise of the greatness and splendor with which it now flourishes. But hearing that *Cyrus* was now at *Sardis*, he went thither chiefly to acquaint him with the treachery of *Tissaphernes*, who though he had a commission to assist the *Lacedæmonians* against the *Athenians*, upon some sollicitation from *Alcibiades* (as 'twas suspected) acted remissly, and by neglecting to pay his Soldiers, had occasion'd the ruine of his Fleet. *Cyrus*
was

was easily perswaded to believe the truth of this accusation, for he had before heard an ill character of *Tissaphernes*, and was himself particularly disoblig'd by him. *Lyfander* by these means, and the opportunities he had of being familiar with the young Prince, entirely gain'd his affections, and by affable conversation, and due respect, engag'd him strongly on his side. *Cyrus* to shew how great a kindness he had for *Lyfander*, after he had splendidly entertain'd him, desir'd him to deal freely, and assured him whatsoever he ask'd should be granted. *Lyfander* was so modest as only to ask a small addition to the Sea-men's pay. *Cyrus* was taken with his generous answer, and made him a present of ten thousand pieces of Silver. *Lyfander* manag'd this to the best advantage, and out of his own stock liberally encreased the Sea-men's pay; by this encouragement to his Soldiers, in a short time he quite wasted the Enemies fleet, for many of the common Soldiers were glad to go over to that party where the most money was stirring. And those few that staid behind behav'd themselves with a great deal of indifferency to their Officers, and often mutini'd. Though he had thus drain'd and weaken'd his adversaries, he durst not engage 'em, because *Alcibiades* who was their admiral, had the advantage
of

of him in the number of Ships, and had been better experienc'd, and hitherto more successful in whatever enterprize he undertook either by Sea or Land.

Alcibiades having occasion to go from *Samos* to *Phoea*, left *Antiochus* his Vice-Admiral, who to upbraid and provoke *Lysander*, sail'd to the very mouth of the Harbour at *Ephesus*, and impudently pass'd by him with a great deal of noise and scorn. *Lysander* who was too high spirited, not to resent this open affront, with two or three Ships immediately pursu'd him, but when he saw fresh supplies come to the relief of *Antiochus*, he call'd up more to his assistance, and in a little while the whole Fleet was engag'd. *Lysander* soon got the better, took fifteen of their Ships, and set up a Trophy. The people of *Athens* were highly displeas'd at *Alcibiades*, and turn'd him out of their service, who being now disrespected and slightly spoken of by the Soldiers in *Samos*, left the Army and withdrew to *Peloponnesus*. This fight was no farther considerable than as *Alcibiades's* misfortune made it so.

Lysander while he had a little respite, sent a choice number of bold and prudent men to *Ephesus*, with instructions, to form themselves into Companies, and apply themselves to Policy and business, upon promise

promise that as soon as the *Athenians* Government was broken, their Democracy shou'd be dissolv'd, and they made Governors in their respective Cities; by this contrivance, he secretly made way for the *Decemviri*, and all other innovations which afterwards succeeded in that Commonwealth. For he kept his word with his Friends, and still promoted those that acquitted themselves well in any Office, to higher honours and preferments, and to comply with their covetous humours, was himself or Accomplice in all their injustice and oppression. So every body endeavour'd to ingratiate himself with *Lyfander*; to Him only people made their Court and application, and promis'd themselves all that was Great or Honourable, while the chief power of the Republick was lodg'd in him. Wherefore as soon as he left 'em they were very uneasie under his Successor *Callicratidas*, whose Actions indeed show'd him to be Great and Just, yet the people were all along discontented with his Conduct; which favour'd too much of *Dorick* plainness as they call'd it, that is, true Honesty and Sincerity. 'Tis true, they admir'd his virtue as men do the Beauty of some Hero's statue, but their desires all this while were bent upon *Lyfander*, the loss of whose Favour and benevolence they were so sensible

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of,

of, that some of 'em exprest their Concern with Tears. Nay, he drew off their Affections yet more from *Callicratidas*, for he sent back to *Cyrus* the residue of that money he had receiv'd from him for the Soldiers pay, and scornfully said, *Let's see now how you, Callicratidas, can support the Charges of the Army. I have resign'd that Fleet to you which Commands the whole Ocean.* This empty and affected vanity, *Callicratidas* thus handsomely reprov'd. *First pass the Athenian Navy at Samos, after that resign me your Command, and then I'll confess you have deliver'd up to me that Fleet which rides master of the Seas, for till it dares face the Enemy there, it can scarce, I think, claim that Title.* No says *Lysander*, I have done with it now, 'tis wholly under your conduct, so he sail'd off for *Peloponnesus*.

Callicratidas was left in great perplexity, for he had brought no money from home with him, neither cou'd he raise any, the People had been too much oppress'd to endure another Tax. The only refuge he had was to beg Supplies, as *Lysander* had done, from some foreign Prince. And he was the most unqualified of any man for this employ, for he was of so Noble and generous a Spirit, that he cou'd sooner brook Slavery under a *Grecian* Enemy, than bring himself to flatter and caress a
Barbarian,

Barbarian, who had nothing to value himself upon but his Gold. However necessity forc'd him to *Lydia*, and when he came to *Cyrus* his Palace, he bid one of the attendants tell him, *Callicratidas* was come to wait upon him. The Servant reply'd, *The King is not at leisure now, he's drinking.* Well, says *Callicratidas*, (without any design of an Affront) *I'll stay till he has done.* The *Lydians* upon this answer took him for some ill bred Clown. So when he saw himself laugh'd at, and slighted by the *Barbarians* he withdrew a while, but upon his return not gaining admission, he resented it so highly, that he went immediately to *Ephesus*, reflecting with indignation upon those mean wretches, that first cring'd to *Barbarians*, and encourag'd 'em to be proud, only because they were rich; he farther protested to some of his Friends, that as soon as he arriv'd at *Sparta*, he would make it his business to reconcile the differences among the *Greeks*, and unite 'em against the *Barbarians*, or at least perswade 'em so far, as never to accept assistance from their hands against one another. These resolutions indeed were worthy of *Callicratidas*, whose virtue and bravery were not inferiour to the greatest of the *Lacedæmonians*, but he was unhappily taken off, after he had lost the victory at *Ar-*

ginusa, before he cou'd put 'em in execution.

The prospect of affairs looking now very dismally, the *Confederates* sent an Ambassy to *Sparta* to desire that *Lyfander* might be chose Admiral, expressing very earnestly the great confidence they had of success under his Conduct. *Cyrus* too dispatch'd Letters thither to the same effect. Now there was a Law among the *Lacedaemonians* that oblig'd 'em never to conferr that command twice upon the same person, yet they were desirous to gratifie their Allies; so they gave one *Acacus* the Title, but Him the power. This news was receiv'd with great satisfaction by the chief Magistrates of the Republique. For he had long since rais'd their expectations, and given 'em hopes, that the Democracy shou'd soon be put down, and the whole Government devolve upon them.

Whoever takes an impartial view of these two Generals, will find in *Callicratidas* an open and sincere carriage, in *Lyfander* craft and cunning, for he ow'd most of his success in War to some under-hand trick, and never scrupl'd to preferr Interest to Honesty; he thought nature had fix'd no difference between truth and falshood, and so made advantage the measure of both. When he was told, 'twas below the character

acter of one descended from *Hercules*, to relie upon Stratagems in War, he turn'd it off with a Jest, and said, *When the Lions strength fails, we must take in the Fox's subtilty.* He gave a remarkable instance of his disposition this way at *Miletus*. For when his Friends whom he had promis'd to help in subverting the present Government, had chang'd their Opinions, and sided with the contrary party, he pretended openly to be much pleas'd with their proceedings, and to desire a reconciliation, but secretly thus contriv'd their ruine. First he provok'd 'em to set upon the multitude, and as soon as they had rais'd a tumult he himself came up to the head of 'em, and in the ears of the common people gave 'em a severe reprimand, but privately fomented the disturbance, and assur'd 'em of his assistance. This treacherous management of his encourag'd the Rebels to stay in the City where they were all kill'd just as he had design'd. *Androclides* takes notice that this deceitful temper ran through the whole course of his Life; for he says, *he cheated Children with foul play, and men with perjury, and all along follow'd the example of Polycrates.* Though 'tis inexcusable in a General to imitate a Tyrant, and very disagreeable to the character of a *Spartan* to use his Gods more contemptibly than he

does his Enemies, for he that over-reaches his Adversary by a false Oath, declares he fears Him, and despises the Gods.

Without any farther reflection upon *Lyfander's* vices, let us return to his Conduct. We left the Fleet under his Command, yet he thought he had too few Ships, to encounter the Enemy with, and too many to lie still, so he cruiz'd about some neighbouring Islands, and surpriz'd *Ægina*, and *Salamis*, from whence he steer'd his course to *Attica*, where he waited upon *Agis*, and with great Ostentation, as if he had been Master of the Seas, drew out his Fleet before him, but hearing that the *Athenians* pursu'd him, he made off, not without some confusion, towards *Asia*, and finding the *Hellepont* open without any guard, he attack'd *Lampsacus* by Sea, whilst *Thorax* at the same time besieg'd it by Land, and as soon as the Town was storm'd, he gave his Soldiers the plunder of it. In the meanwhile the *Athenian* Fleet consisting of an hundred and eighty Sail, were going for *Elis*, but having intelligence that *Lampsacus* was taken, they alter'd their measures and put in at *Sestos*, whence after they had taken in Provisions, they went to the River *Egus*, where they were just opposite to the Enemy, which was still cruising about *Lampsacus*. Amongst the *Athenian*
Com-

Commanders *Philocles* was one, the same that formerly stir'd up the common People to a Rebellion, and mov'd once in Council to cut off the right Thumb of every Captive, that they might be disabled from managing any Weapon, and yet be serviceable to 'em in handling the Oar. The two navies now were in sight of one another, and every body expected an Engagement the next morning; but *Lyfander* had quite other designs; he commanded all the Seamen on board, as if they were to fight by break of day, and gave 'em a strict charge to be in readiness upon the first sign; he gave the same orders to the Infantry who lay upon the shore: About Sun-rising the *Athenian* Fleet drew up in a line directly before the *Lacedæmonians*, and gave the challenge, but *Lyfander* wou'd not accept it, however he heart'ned his men, bid every one keep his post and be silent. So the *Athenians* at evening were forc'd to retire, and the same game was play'd over for three or four days together.

Upon this news *Alcibiades* came up to 'em out of *Peloponnesus*, and finding some fault with the situation of the Camp, and the ill management of some things relating to the Fleet, met with a scornful rebuke from *Tydeus* that sent him back again. When he was gone they offer'd Battle as

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they had done several times to no purpose; *Lyfander*, when he saw 'em returning with disdain and (as they thought) security to their Harbours, dispatch'd some few light Vessels to observe their motion, and bid the Captains, row back as soon as ever they saw the *Athenians* Land, and lift up the Golden Shield from the fore deck, upon which sign he'd immediately make up to 'em. Afterwards he gave orders to the Officers in the Fleet diligently to look after the Soldiers and Mariners, and take care they shou'd be all ready to run in briskly upon the Enemy, at the first sight of the Shield. By that time he had given his instructions, the sign immediately appear'd, and the Trumpet from the Admiral sounded to Battel, the Ships set sail, and the Land men marched up along the shore to the promontory. The distance between the two continents was fifteen Furlongs, but the Sea-men were so eager and industrious, that they soon reach'd the opposite shore; yet *Conon* the chief Captain of the *Athenians* had descry'd 'em, and made what haste he cou'd, to get his Soldiers on board; some he commanded, some he perswaded, and others he forc'd into the Ships; but all his endeavours were in vain, his men, not in the least suspecting any surprize, were dispers'd; one party was walking
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ing in the Fields, another slept in their Tents, a third was gone to Market. So *Conon* when the noise and Cries of the *Lacedæmonians* drew very near him, made his escape with eight Ships to *Evagoras* King of *Cyprus*. The *Peloponnesians* fell upon those that remain'd, and either took or disabled 'em all. Those Soldiers that came to the relief of the navy were slain in the attempt, those that thought to make their escape by flight, were pursu'd and taken. *Lysander* took three thousand Prisoners with their Commanders, and seiz'd the whole Fleet, except those few Ships that convey'd *Conon* to *Evagoras*. Thus after he had compleated this famous Victory by his own Counsel and Conduct, and in so little a time, with such unexpected success, put an end to that War which had been so long depending, and in which more *Grecians* lost their Lives, than in all the former ones, he return'd in Triumph to *Lampsacus*.

This Action was so surprizing that 'twas thought a particular Providence was concern'd in it. Some say *Castor* and *Pollux* plac'd themselves on each side *Lysander's* Ship, and attended this affair with extraordinary influence. Others fanci'd a stone, that seem'd to fall from Heaven, to be an Omen of this overthrow. 'Twas of

a vast bigness, and fell by the River *Egeus*. The *Peloponnesians* esteem it very much, and show it among their Curiosities to this day.

Theophrastus tells us that *Lysander*, when the three Thousand *Athenians* which he took prisoners were condemned by the Council, call'd *Philocles* and asked him What punishment he thought that man deserv'd, who advis'd the Citizens to proceed so severely against the *Grecians*? *Philocles* not at all daunted in his Adversity, reply'd, *You are no judge in this Case, but do you use your Prisoners as I wou'd have us'd you, if you had been mine.* After this bold answer, with all gayety and cheerfulness he led on his Country-men, as if he had been going rather to a Triumph, than his Execution.

When this Tragedy was over, *Lysander* visited all the neighbouring Cities, and Commanded all the *Athenians* he found, upon pain of death, to repair to *Athens*. His design was this, That the City being thus throng'd might soon be reduc'd to Famine, and glad to surrender upon discretion, as soon as he open'd the Siege. Where-ever he came, he chang'd the present Government of the place, and put in a *Lacedæmonian* as Chief with ten other Assistants. Thus he dealt not only with his Enemies, but his Allies,

Allies, and by this means had in a manner engross'd to himself the whole Empire of *Greece*. He did not employ the Nobility or the wealthy Citizens in any part of the Government, but put it into the hands either of private Friends, or strangers, and entrusted 'em with full power of Life and Death. Many were executed whilst he was present, and whoever express'd any dislike of his Friends proceedings were sure to meet with very hard usage. This management gave the *Greeks* an ill Opinion of the *Lacedæmonian* Government. From hence *Theopompus* took occasion by way of drolery to compare the *Lacedæmonians* with Vint'ners, who whilst they pretend to entertain us with sweet Wine give it a dash of Vinegar; for though *Lysander* openly profess'd he allow'd 'em all their Freedom and privileges, yet he oppress'd 'em so much by his Ambitious and Tyrannical Officers that no Slavery cou'd be more uneasy to 'em than what he call'd Liberty.

Having settled Affairs here according to his mind, and dispatch'd Messengers to tell the *Lacedæmonians*, that he shou'd return to them with two hundred Sail in a very short time, he appear'd before *Attica*, with such assurance, as if he thought of nothing less than the immediate surrender of the City. But when he found the *Athenians* made a
vigorous

vigorous defence beyond his expectation, he retreated into *Asia*, and made the same alteration in other Cities as he had done in those we mentioned before; putting some to death who did not submit to his Tyranny, and forcing others to quit their Country. He utterly routed the *Samians*, and gave Fugitives the possession of their Cities. He us'd the same Barbarity to the Inhabitants of *Sestos*, which was then in the hands of the *Athenians*, and divided it among his Sea-men. The *Lacedæmonians* themselves were displeas'd at these inhumane proceedings, though against their Enemies, and re-establish'd the *Sestians*. The *Grecians* were well satisfi'd with *Lyfander's* Conduct, for by his means the *Æginites* were restor'd to their own Cities, of which the *Athenians* had unjustly possess'd themselves. By this time *Lyfander* had intelligence that there was a Famine in *Athens*, upon which he sail'd to the *Piræum*, and had no sooner began his siege, but the City surrendered, submitting to whatever Terms he demanded.

'Tis reported among the *Lacedæmonians*, that *Lyfander* wrote to the Magistrates thus, *Athens is taken*: To which they return'd this Answer in the same way; *You say 'tis taken, we are satisfi'd*. But this was recorded rather as *Laconick* than true, for

for they commanded him to observe these orders. They run thus: *Know this is the decree of the Lacedæmonians; Pull down the Piræum, and the long Wall; Divide their Lands among the neighbouring Cities; Allow 'em what's necessary, and set the Captives at liberty. When you have perform'd this, enjoy that peace which you have so well deserv'd: As for the number of Ships, use your own discretion in that matter.* When these orders came to the Athenians, they took *Theramenes* his advice thereupon, whom *Cleomenes* one of the young Councillors ask'd, why he acted contrary to the intention of *Themistocles*, and gave those Walls into the hands of the *Lacedæmonians*, which he built in defiance of 'em. *Youth*, says he, *I have my eye upon Themistocles his design. He rais'd these Walls for the preservation of the City, and I for the very same reason wou'd have 'em destroy'd; and if Walls only secure a City, Sparta which has none is in a very ill condition.*

Lysander as soon as the Ships and Fortifications of the Athenians were deliver'd into his hands, attempted the same alteration among them, as he had made in the other parts of Greece, but finding 'em more stubborn than he expected, he complain'd to the *Lacedæmonians*, that their orders were not observ'd by the Athenians, that
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the Walls were yet standing, after the time fix'd for their pulling down was expir'd, and now since they had broke their first Articles, he declar'd he wou'd not enter into new conditions with 'em. Some say he mov'd in Council that they might be reduc'd to Slavery, when at the same time *Erianthus* the *Theban* propos'd wholly to destroy the City, and leave the Country desolate; but a little afterwards at an entertainment of the Captains, one of 'em repeated some verses out of *Eurypides's Electra*: They begun thus,

*Electra, O unhappy Queen,
Whither wou'd you fly! return;
Your absence the forsaken Groves
And desert Palace seem to mourn.*

This struck 'em, and, gave 'em occasion to reflect, how barbarous twou'd appear to lay that City in ruine, which had been renown'd for the birth and education of so many famous men. However *Lysander*, the *Athenians* entirely submitting to him, call'd a great consort of *Musick*, both out of the City and Camp, and whilst he pull'd down the Walls and burn'd the Ships, his associates dancing and Crown'd with Garlands, express'd as much joy, as if the end of other men's happiness, had been the beginning
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of their own. After this, according to his usual way of dealing with Conquer'd People, he alter'd their Government, appointed thirty Rulers over the City, and ten over the *Piræum*, plac'd a strong Garrison in the Tower, and made *Callibius* a *Spartan* the Governour, who upon some slight occasion offer'd to strike *Autolycus* (a famous wrestler, the same whom *Xenophon* mentions in his Συμπόσιον) but the young Gentleman avoided the blow, and gave *Callibius* a fall. *Lysander*, though this reflected upon one of his Officers, seem'd not to be much disturb'd at it, he only mildly reprimanded *Autolycus*, and told him *Callibius* was unacquainted with the *Athenian Polity*, and did not know the distinction of his quality: But soon after the Governours to ingratiate themselves with *Callibius*, kill'd *Autolycus*.

Lysander when he had settled his Affairs, sail'd to *Thrace*. All the money and presents which he had receiv'd (and in all probability a man in his station must have receiv'd many) he sent to *Lacedæmon* by *Gulippus*, whom he had made Captain over the Troops in *Sicily*. This *Gulippus* ripp'd up every bag, and when he had taken out of each as much as he thought fit, sow'd 'em up again; but this was not manag'd so cunningly as he imagin'd, for in every

every bag it seems there was a bill that gave a particular account of its sum, so that when he came to *Sparta*, having first secur'd, as he thought, under the tiles of his House what he had taken for his own use, he deliver'd up his charge to the Magistrates, and with a good assurance shew'd 'em the Seals as a mark of his fidelity. But when they examin'd the money and found it fall short of the Accounts express'd in the Bills, not suspecting any cheat in the Messenger they were something surpriz'd at the difference, till *Gulippus* his Servant betray'd the Secret, and told 'em by way of Riddle, That he had observ'd a great many *Owls* lodg'd under his Masters tiles: Now the *Athenian* money being generally stamp'd with the image of an *Owl*, this Mystery was quickly understood, and *Gulippus* having stain'd his former reputation with this mean action, was asham'd to appear any more at *Lacedæmon*.

Some of the wisest among the *Spartans*, probably upon this occasion, being sensible what an ill influence money had over most mens manners, and how easily the best were corrupted by it, were very warm in their reflections upon *Lysander*, and earnestly press'd the Magistrates to send away all their treasure of Gold and Silver. This debate was referr'd to a Council, where

as *Theopompus* says *Scirophidas*, as *Ephoras* will have it, *Phlogidas*, openly declar'd against receiving Gold or Silver into the City, and mov'd that no money might be us'd amongst 'em, but their own, which was Iron dip'd in Vinegar whilst it was Red-hot, to make it hard and unpliant, that it might not easily be cover'd with Counterfeit Brass, this Coin of theirs made in the fashion of a Pyramid, was heavy, and that which was much in weight, was but little in value, so that 'twas very troublesome to carry any considerable Summ. This party that Voted against keeping the money was over-power'd by *Lyfander's* Friends, and at last 'twas decreed that it shou'd be employ'd upon Publick Occasions, and that it shou'd be a Capital Crime to convert any of it to Private uses; But this did not at all answer *Lycurgus* his design, who by a scarcity of money intended to prevent Covetousness which is generally the ill Consequence of Riches; now this was not so much prevented by forbidding the use of money in Private, as 'twas encourag'd by allowing it in Publick, and it cou'd not be imagin'd that People who manag'd wealth to so General an Advantage of the Republick, shou'd think it of no concern to themselves; nay 'tis much more reasonable to conclude that the com-

mon Custom of a Nation shou'd influence particular men, than that the whole Nation shou'd be corrupted by the Actions of some few, who upon any misdemeanor may be call'd to account, and reduc'd to a better sence of their duty, by sound Laws and strict Discipline. So that the order of State which we just now mentioned, was of no benefit to the Commonwealth, for though the fear of punishment was a pretty secure Guard upon men, not to hazard their Lives in Treasuring up money, yet the prohibition only heighten'd their desires, and if their Actions did not break out, at last their affections were tainted. But I shall say no more of this matter here, because I have reflected upon it in another place.

Lyfander, as we observ'd before, being much enrich'd with plunder and presents, rais'd his own and several of the chief Commanders statues in Brass at *Delphos*, and represented in Gold the Constellations of *Castor*, and *Pollux*, which had shone so favourably upon him at the Battel of *Leuctra*. The great Ship that *Cyrus* sent him when he congratulated him upon his Victory, he plac'd in the Treasury of *Brasidas*, and the *Acanthians*, and *Alexandrides* in his History names a very considerable Summ left there by *Lyfander*. But this account

count is not agreeable to the latter circumstances of his Life.

It must be own'd that never any *Lacedæmonian* General had so absolute an Authority as *Lysander*, yet his Pride and Haughtiness of Spirit still carried him beyond it, inso-much that *Douris* says the *Grecians* rais'd Altars to his Honour and sacrificed to him as a God. He was the first that was complimented with Songs of Triumph; one of which begun thus,

*To the brave Leader of our Bands,
Begin the Song, which Gods inspire;
With Tuneful Voice, and Artful Hands:
To Pæan! touch the Lyre!*

And the *Samians* decreed that the Feasts which were Celebrated in the Honour of *Juno*, shou'd now be transferr'd to *Lysander*. *Chærilus* a Poet was always one of his retinue and ready upon all occasions to Celebrate his Actions. *Antilochus* presenting him with a Panegyrick which he was much pleas'd with, was very splendidly rewarded. There was a great emulation between *Antimachus* of *Colophon* and *Niceratus* of *Heraclea*, who shou'd write the best Poem in *Lysander's* Praise. The Lawrel was given to *Niceratus*, which *Antimachus* taking ill, suppress'd his Verses. *Plato* who

was then a young Man, and an admirer of *Antimachus* his Poetry, desir'd him to bear this little misfortune with more Courage, telling him that ignorance affects only those that are ignorant, as Blindness hurts those alone that are Blind, and that this affront was not so much his own unhappiness, as theirs who were not able to judge of his excellencies. *Aristonous* the Musician who had six times won the prize of the *Pythian* games, openly declar'd, that if ever he had the fortune to be conquerour once more, he'd employ all his art in *Lysander's* praises.

Lysander's Haughtiness and Ambition was alike uneasy to his Superiours and his equals; he had so many Creatures follow'd him, that he look'd upon every Body with careless disdain, and was so regardless of other peoples Opinions, that he made his own humour the measure of all his Actions; to his Friends and those strangers that humbly attended him, and sided with his party, he was too liberally grateful, and rewarded their services with unlimited Commissions to govern Cities as absolutely as they pleas'd: But an Enemy seldom escap'd his revenge, and that was never satisfi'd but with the death of the Offender. To compass this he stuck at nothing that was base or treacherous, as 'tis plain from
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his dealing with the *Milesians*. They had appear'd too forward in maintaining the right of the people, and when they found their designs discover'd, he was afraid they might secure themselves by flight, to prevent this he solemnly swore not a man of them should suffer; Upon this they were all so credulous as to relie upon his word, nay many who upon apprehension of punishment had before absconded, appear'd abroad again, so when he had got 'em all in his power, he order'd 800 of 'em to be slain at one execution. In every City he exercis'd cruelties of this nature, and no man cou'd be safe who was suspected of any inclinations to popular Government. He did not only sacrifice men to his own private caprices, but with the same barbarity gratifi'd either the malice or Covetousness of his Friends. From whence *Eteocles* his saying became famous; that *Greece* cou'd never bear two *Lysanders*. *Theophrastus* says that *Archistratus* appli'd the same thing to *Alcibiades*.

Pharnabazus after he had been plundered and very ill us'd by him, sent informers against him to *Sparta*. The Magistrates took this complaint into Consideration, and put some of his Friends to death, amongst which was his Fellow-Captain *Thorax*, who against the late Law was found with Silver in

his possession; neither did they stop here in punishing his accomplices, but commanded him home by their *Scytale*. The nature and use of which was this. When the Magistrates gave their Commission to any Admiral or General, they took two round pieces of Wood both exactly equal in breadth and thickness, one they kept themselves, the other was deliver'd to their Officer, so when they had any thing of moment which they wou'd secretly convey to him; they cut a long narrow scrawl of Parchment, and rowling it about their own staff one fold close upon another, they wrote their business on it, when they had wrote what they had to say, they took off the Parchment and sent it to the General, he appli'd it to his own staff, which being just like that of the Magistrates, the folds fell in with one another, exactly as they did at the writing, and the Characters, which, before 'twas wrapt up, were confusedly disjoin'd, and altogether unintelligible, appear'd now very plainly.

Lysander was startled at the *Scytale*, and being conscious how ill he had us'd *Pharnabazus*, thought this message was chiefly upon his Account, so he took all the care imaginable to have a speedy conference with him, and hop'd by a little discourse to compose all differences between 'em. When they

they met, he desir'd him to give another information to the Senate, and to contradict what his Messengers had told 'em before. *Pharnabazus* seem'd to comply with these proposals, but, as 'tis in the Proverb, Put the cheat upon the deceiver; for he wrote a Letter in *Lyfander's* Presence according to his directions, but had contriv'd to have another by him, which was to a quite contrary effect; so when they came to Seal the Letter, he put that upon him which he had writ under-hand; *Lyfander* return'd boldly to *Lacedæmon*, and attending the Magistrates, as 'tis their Custom, at the Palace, he deliver'd *Pharnabazus* his Letter to 'em, which he was pretty confidently assur'd, wou'd take off his greatest Accusation, for he knew *Pharnabazus* was much valu'd by the *Lacedæmonians*, as being an expert Soldier and a favourite of *Artaxerxes*. The Magistrates read the Letter, and shew'd it *Lyfander*, he was much surpriz'd to meet with what he had not in the least suspected, and in great confusion left the Palace.

Some days after when he was amongst the Governors, he told 'em he was oblig'd to go to *Ammon's* Temple, and pay that Sacrifice which he had Vow'd to him before the Battel, and 'tis indeed reported that *Ammon* appear'd to him in a Dream,

when he besieg'd the *Aphygæans*, upon which as the God had directed he rais'd the Siege, and bid the *Aphygæans* Sacrifice to *Ammon*: But 'tis generally believ'd that this was only a pretence, and that the true occasion of his retiring was a suspicion that the Magistrates wou'd call him to an Account, for having Rul'd so long without controul; his haughty Spirit cou'd not brook Submission to any Body, like an Horse that after he had been free a great while and rang'd in open Pasture, is very unwilling to be confin'd again to the Stable, and submit to the manage of his Rider. *Ephorus* gives another Account of his retiring, which I shall mention by and by. Whatever the occasion was, he found it very difficult to get the Magistrates leave, and when with much ado they had given their consent to his Voyage, considering that most of their Cities were in the possession of his Friends, that he consequently must needs have a great sway among 'em, and be likely to be receiv'd by 'em with all the respect due to their great Commander and Patron, they took particular care to dispossess 'em and put the Government into other hands.

This Revolution rais'd every where new disturbances, and first of all the *Athenians* attempted to seize upon their thirty Governors,

Governors, but *Lyfander* happen'd to come very opportunely to their relief, and perfwaded the *Lacedæmonians* to join with the Rulers againſt the People, they did not only grant him this, but preſented the Governors too with an hundred Talents, and choſe him their Captain: Some of the Chief of the the *Athenians* were jealous of *Lyfander*, and fearing leaſt he ſhou'd take the City again, reſolv'd one of 'em ſhou'd be deputed to diſcourſe with him. *Pauſanias* was the man. When he came to *Lyfander*, he pretended he had been a great Friend to the Tyrants againſt the People, but his deſign was to break off the War, leaſt *Lyfander* ſhou'd again make himſelf Maſter of *Athens*. This deſign he compaſs'd very eaſily, for he reconcil'd the *Athenians*, and compos'd the Tumults, and ſo put a ſtop to *Lyfander's* Ambition. However the *Athenians* made another inſurrection, but *Pauſanias* made a plauſible excuſe for it, and ſaid that 'twas no ſtrange thing to ſee People that were juſt free from their uſual diſcipline, and left more to their own liberty, break out into inſolent Affronts; withal he gave *Lyfander* the commendation of a generous man, who never employ'd his Arms either for the gratification of Friends or his own fame, but purely for the Glory of *Sparta*. Thus he preſerv'd
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the City a second time from *Lyfander's* Tyranny.

Lyfander's Courage and Spirit appear'd in his expreffions, no lefs than it did in his Actions. Once when the *Argives* contended about their bounds, and thought they cou'd make a better Plea than the *Lacedæmonians*, he held out his Sword, and said, *He that's Master of this will beft make out his Title.* A *Megarean* uſing more freedom than ordinary with him, met with this reprimand, *By your diſcourſe, Sir, a man may gueſs you are a ſtranger at Court.* When the *Bæotians* ſtood wavering whether they ſhou'd engage on his ſide, or his Enemies, he told 'em they muſt fix their reſolutions, he wou'd be with 'em ſpeedily, and bad 'em conſider whether they had rather be viſited in a Friendly or hoſtile manner. After the *Corinthians* had revolted, and the *Lacedæmonians* ſeem'd backward in their Aſſault, an Hare by chance leaping over the Ditch, *Are ye not aſham'd, ſaid he, to fear thoſe Enemies, whoſe lazineſs is ſuch that the Hares ſleep under their very Walls?*

After *Agis* his death, *Ageſilaus* his Brother, and *Leotychides* his ſuppos'd Son, were the only pretenders to the Crown, *Lyfander* who was *Ageſilaus* his particular Friend, perſwaded him to claim his Right

to the Kingdom, as being legitimately descended from *Hercules*, for 'twas very much suspected that *Leotychides* was *Alcibiades* his Son, who had been observ'd to be familiar with *Agis* his Wife *Timaia*, all the time he was a fugitive in *Sparta*, and *Agis* computing the time, concluded that he himself cou'd not be the Father, so openly disown'd him and neglected him as a Bastard; yet afterwards when he fell sick and was carri'd to *Herea*, by the importunity of the Youth himself, and his Friends, just before he died he declar'd before many witnesses that *Leotychides* was his lawful Son, and desired them to testify these his last words to the *Lacedæmonians*; which accordingly they did. Every body respected *Agefilaus* as a very deserving man, and his acquaintance with *Lysander* was a farther recommendation of him, but he was abus'd by *Diopithes* a great dealer in Prophecies, who apply'd this Speech of the Oracle to *Agefilaus* his lameness.

*Proud as thou art, Sparta, beware
How thou obeyest a limping Heir!
War and discord without end,
Shall on that luckless Hour attend;
Every Labor, every Fate,
That can waste, or sink a state.*

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Many believ'd the interpretation, and began to favour *Leotychides* his party. But *Lysander* said that *Diopithes* had mistook the sence of the Oracle, that 'twas not meant the *Lacedæmonians* would be unhappy under a lame King, but that they'd be a lame people if they suffer'd the posterity of *Hercules* to be govern'd by illegitimate princes. Having thus put a plausible construction upon the words of the Oracle, and being otherwise one that had got a great interest among the People he prevail'd with 'em to make choice of *Agefilaus*; As soon as he was settled in his Kingdom, *Lysander* press'd him very earnestly to make War upon *Asia*, putting him in hopes of raising to himself a great reputation by the Conquest of *Persia*; to further this design he writ to his Friends in *Asia*, and desir'd 'em they wou'd Petition *Agefilaus* to accept the Command of their Forces against the *Barbarians*. They comply'd with his request, and sent Ambassadors to *Lacedæmon* for that purpose.

Agefilaus thought himself no less oblig'd to *Lysander* for this favour, than he had been before for his Kingdom. But ambitious Spirits however otherwise qualifi'd for Government, are hindred in their way to Glory by that Envy which they generally bear to their equals, and so make them the
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chief opposers whom they might make the greatest promoters of their Heroick Actions. Thus *Agésilas* at first chose *Lysander* for his particular Favourite, made him one of his Cabinet Council, and consulted him upon all Affairs of moment, but when they came into *Asia*, having little acquaintance there, the People seldom address themselves to him but made their greatest Court to *Lysander*, some upon the account of a former familiarity and Friendship, others out of a servile Compliance. Thus as it often happens in Plays, a chief Actor represents one of a mean Character, yet is much taken notice of, while he that personates the King has but a small part, and is little regarded by the Spectators; so here the Councellour had all that was really valuable in Government, and left the King only the empty name of Power. Indeed both of 'em ought to have moderated their Ambition, *Lysander* was too forward in accepting those honours which ought first to have been paid *Agésilas*: On the other side *Agésilas* did ill, so unhandsomely to discard a Friend that he had been so much oblig'd to. For first of all he never gave him any opportunity of appearing with reputation, never put him in any post of Command; besides whoever he engag'd for, was sure to miscarry, and to be
thought

thought *Lysander's* Friend was fault enough to deserve the King's displeasure.

Lysander was so unsuccessful in every thing he undertook, and found so often that what he design'd as a kindness was prejudicial to his Friends, that he desir'd 'em to forbear their addresses, and take no publick notice of him, that they shou'd either speak to the King himself, or to those Favourites who had more interest than he at present to preferr 'em. Upon this many gave him no farther trouble with their concerns, but still continu'd their respects to him, and waited upon him in all places of publick entertainment. This griev'd *Agésilas* yet more, when he saw all his endeavours to call off the Peoples Affections from *Lysander* were in vain: So to show his resentment, when he made new Officers in his Army, and Governours of Cities, he affronted *Lysander* so far as to make him overseer of his House-provisions, and then by way of derision bid the *Ionians*, go and pay their complements to his *Caterer*. *Lysander* cou'd brook this usage no longer, and resolv'd freely to tell the King his mind. Their discourse was very short and *Laconick*. *Agésilas*, says *Lysander*, you know very well how to despise your Friends; Yes, says he, when they affect to be greater than my self, and 'tis just they shou'd have

have the greatest share in my power who most endeavour to promote it. Lysander reply'd very modestly, Sir, this is rather what you please to say, than what I ever did. I beg of you, since our Enemies have an eye upon our carriage to one another in hopes to make advantage of it, let me serve you in some Office where I may be least suspected, and most useful to you. This favour was granted him, and he was sent Ambassador to the *Hellespont*, and though he did bear some secret grudge to the King, yet that did not hinder him from a very faithful discharge of his duty. He perswaded *Mithridates* the *Persian* who had fallen out with *Pharnabazus* to revolt with all the Army under his Command, and brought him over to *Agefilaus*: However he was not employ'd upon any other service, but return'd in disgrace to *Sparta*, not only highly incens'd against *Agefilaus* in particular, but displeas'd more than ever with the whole frame of the Government.

Things had been a great while ripe for change, and People were ready to break into Rebellion; he resolv'd therefore not to miss the opportunity but set it on foot as soon as possible. His stratagem was this. Some of the *Heraclidæ* who came into *Peloponnesus* and mix'd with the *Dorians*, were now grown very numerous and power.

powerful in *Sparta*. But two Families only cou'd claim any right to succession in the Kingdom; those were the *Eurytionidæ* and the *Agiadæ*, others had no privilege in the Commonwealth by the Nobleness of their Birth, but those who cou'd plead most merit had the best Titles to the common Rewards of Vertue. *Lyfander* was one of these, and when he had gain'd a great Reputation by his Actions, many Friends, and much Power, he was uneasy to see that City which ow'd its encrease chiefly to him, rul'd by others no better descended than himself. So he contriv'd to alter the settlement which confin'd the Government to two Families, and gave all the *Heraclidæ* an equal right to it; nay some say not the *Heraclidæ* only, but all the *Spartans*, and make it a reward not so much of *Hercules* his posterity, as of those who bravely imitated that valour which gave him a place among the Gods. He had great hopes that when the Kingdom was thus to be dispos'd of, no *Spartan* cou'd appear with those advantages that he cou'd. Upon which prospect first he endeavour'd to insinuate the reasonableness of this change into private People, and afterwards to the same purpose spoke an Oration which *Cleon* of *Halicarnassus* had made for him. But perceiving

ceiving that this new project was very extraordinary, and not to be brought about by common means, as in Tragedies, when any thing of great importance is to be resolv'd, the assistance of some God is made use of, so he to promote his designs with more colour of Authority counterfeited answers from *Delphos*, presuming he shou'd terrifie those by *Apollo's Oracles* whom he cou'd not perswade by *Cleon's Eloquence*. *Ephorus* says that after he had in vain endeavour'd to pervert the *Pythian Oracle*, and as unsuccessfully sent *Pericles* to corrupt *Dodona*, he went himself to *Ammon*, and profer'd the Priests prodigious Summs of Gold, who with great indignation rejected his Bribes and sent people to accuse him at *Sparta*. Where he met with such favourable Judges that he was easily clear'd from their impeachments, upon which the *Libyans* took their leave of the *Spartans* in this manner, *When you come to live among us in Africa you'll find us more impartial Judges*. Now there was an ancient Prophecy which foretold that the *Lacedæmonians* shou'd some time or other inhabit *Africa*. *Lysander's* designs in this matter were very subtle and intricate, and manag'd by very great Politicians, so in order to clear the whole intrigue we must trace it as we do a Mathematical demonstration,

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up

up to its first principles; I shall therefore at large explain it as 'tis related by a certain Historian and Philosopher.

There was a Woman in *Pontus* who was said to conceive by *Apollo*, many with a great deal of reason suspected it, others were so credulous as to believe it. After she was deliver'd of a Boy many People took peculiar care of its education, and for some reason or other gave it the Name of *Silenus*. *Lyfander* taking hold of this, made it the Ground of his whole stratagem, and chose such confidants to assist him in it, whose Character might bring the story into reputation without the least suspicion of forgery. To make the best advantage of this they spread abroad another story, that there were very ancient Oracles closely conceal'd in the custody of the Priests, and 'twas upon record that they were not to be profan'd by vulgar hands, neither was it lawful for any man to read 'em, till in some future Age one shou'd arise who shou'd manifestly prove himself the Son of *Apollo*, and challenge to himself the Interpretation of these Mysteries. When the credit of this report was well established among the People, *Silenus* was to come and demand the prerogative of his Birth. The Priests who were Confederates in this Plot, were strictly to examine into every circumstance
and

and particular of his Nativity, and afterwards being fully convinc'd that he was the true Son of *Apollo*, were to deliver up their charge to him: who when he publickly open'd the *Oracles* before the People, was to declare several things concerning the Government, among which he was to tell 'em 'twou'd be more for their honour and interest to break the present succession, and choose their Kings out of the most deserving men in the Commonwealth. But when *Silenus* was grown up and every thing ready for Action, the whole business miscarri'd by the Cowardice of one that was an agent in it, whose heart failed him just at the time of Execution. However nothing of this was discover'd while *Lyander* liv'd, for he died, before *Agesslaus* return'd from *Asia*, in the *Bæotian*, or as some say the *Grecian*, War. For 'tis reported both ways. Some say he himself was the occasion of his death, others blame the *Thebans* for it, others accuse both. To the *Thebans* 'tis objected that they us'd the Sacrifice so irreverently, as to scatter it in pieces on the Ground; that suffering themselves to be corrupted by the King about *Androclides* and *Amphitheus*, they engag'd the *Lacedæmonians* in the *Grecian* War, that they set upon the *Phocians* and laid waste their Country. They say too *Lyander*

der took it ill, that they alone, when the rest of the Confederates were content, pretended to the privilege of assuming to themselves the tenth part of the spoils; and that they complain'd of his sending money to *Sparta*. But he was most of all displeas'd, because they made way for the *Athenians* to free themselves from the Tyranny of that Government which he had establish'd among 'em. To terrifie the *Athenians* from this revolt, the *Lacedæmonians* decreed that those who fled out of *Athens* shou'd be apprehended where-ever they shou'd be found, and that those who endeavour'd to rescue 'em shou'd be treated as Enemies to the Government. The *Thebans* gave out a counter order which was generous and becoming the posterity of *Hercules*, and *Bacchus*, that every House and City in *Bæotia* shou'd be open and free for any *Athenian* that desir'd protection, and that whoever did not assist a fugitive that was in danger of being seiz'd, shou'd be fin'd a Talent, besides if any one shou'd march Arm'd through *Bæotia* to the Relief of the *Athenians*, he shou'd find a safe passage without being taken notice of. Neither did they stop here, for as their decree was hospitable and friendly, so their Actions were agreeable to it. For *Thrasibulus* with several other fugitives was so far aided by them secretly, with

with Money, and Arms, that he made an assault upon the *Phile*, and possess'd himself of it. *Lysander* cou'd not but resent these affronts, which the *Thebans* had so openly offer'd both to him and the *Lacedæmonians*. His Anger grew very fierce, and was encreas'd by a *Splenetic* humour which he was troubled with in his old Age. This urg'd him to importune the Magistrates to employ him once more in their Service, so he march'd out with the Army under his Command, and *Pausanias* follow'd him with another. *Pausanias* went round by *Cythæron* with a design to invade *Bæotia*; *Lysander* pass'd through *Phocis* in order to meet him. As he march'd along he took by surrender the City of the *Orchomenians*, and laid waste *Lebadia*. From whence he sent Letters to *Pausanias* that he shou'd remove from *Platea*, and make haste to join Forces with him at *Haliartus*, where he himself wou'd certainly meet him by break of day. These Letters fell into the hands of the Enemies Spies, and were brought to the *Thebans*. Upon the opening of 'em they entrusted their City with the *Athenians*, and they sallying out at the first Watch arriv'd at *Haliartus*, and put part of their Forces into the City a little before *Lysander* came. *Lysander* had at first resolv'd to pitch his

Tents upon the side of an Hill, and wait for *Pausanias*, but day drawing on he grew impatient, and led his Soldiers out in a direct line along the Road to the Walls of the City.

There is a Fountain call'd *Cisseusa* in which they say *Bacchus* was wash'd immediately after his birth, for the Water is like Wine, of a bright Colour, and a pleasant taste, not far off grows the *Cretian Storax*, by which the *Haliartians* guess *Radamanthus* dwelt there, and the rather because his Sepulchre too, which they call *Alea*, is seen in this place. The monument of *Alcmena* is hard by, where they pretend she was buri'd, when 'after *Amphitryo's* death she marri'd *Radamantus*. 'Twas here about on the left side of *Haliartus*, that those *Thebans* who had not entred the City were plac'd, from whence with great fierceness they fell upon the Enemies Rear. In the mean time those within the City putting themselves into one body with the *Haliartians* kept their order in quiet. But assoon as *Lysander* appear'd with his Vanguard before the Gates, they rush'd out, killed him and one of his Priests, with some few more, for the greater part made their escape to the main Army, but the *Thebans* pursu'd 'em so closely that they all soon dispers'd and fled to the Hills. A Thousand of them

them were kill'd in this pursuit, and 300 of the *Thebans* fell by chasing 'em too rashly into craggy and dangerous places. These 300 had been suspected of correspondence with the *Lacedæmonians*, which made 'em so rash and desperate that they were resolv'd to wipe off this disgrace though with the loss of their Lives. The news of this defeat came to *Pausanias* as he was going from *Platea* to *Thespias*. He presently put his Army in order and made towards *Haliartus*, where about the same time *Thrasybulus* was arriv'd with a party of the *Athenians* under his Command. *Pausanias* wou'd have artickled with 'em upon terms for the dead, but the *Spartan* Magistrates wou'd not consent to it, and were angry with him for offering such mean proposals. They declar'd *Lyfander's* body shou'd not be redeem'd by conditions, but if they fought it out, and Conquer'd they might carry it off honourably, if they happen'd to be overcome themselves 'twou'd however be more glorious to die upon the spot with their Commander. The Magistrates carrying it thus high with the usual haughtiness of *Spartans*, *Pausanias*, who was more calm, saw 'twas too difficult a matter to think of routing the *Thebans*, who were just now flush'd with Victory; besides if this cou'd have been done, the body lay so near the

Walls, that it cou'd not easily be bore off without a truce, so he immediately dispatch'd an *Herauld*, obtain'd a Treaty; drew back his Forces, carri'd away *Lysander*, and buri'd him in the Country of his Friends, the *Panopeans*. His Monument is still to be seen in the Road from *Delphos* to *Chæronea*, where the *Lacedæmonians* for some time took up their quarters, and while they staid there, one of *Phocis* giving an account of the Battel to one of his Companions, said, The Enemy fell upon 'em, after *Lysander* had pass'd *Ophlites*. A *Spartan*, *Lysander's* Friend that stood by, having not heard of that name, ask'd what *Ophlites* he meant, and yet says the *Phocian* that's the place where we lost our bravest men, 'tis the River that runs by the City. The *Spartan* immediately wept and broke out into this expression, O how unavoidable are the decrees of Fate! For it seems the Oracle had pronounced this to *Lysander*.

*Take care to shun Ophlites watery Field,
And him who bears a Dragon in his Shield.*

Some indeed say *Ophlites* doth not run to *Haliartus*, but is a River near *Coronea*, which mix'd with the River *Phliarus* passes along to that City. 'Twas formerly call'd
Oplias,

Oplias, but now 'tis known by the name of *Ifomantus*. *Neocorus* the *Haliartian* who kill'd *Lyfander*, bore a *Dragon* in his Shield, and 'tis probable that this was signifi'd by the Oracle.

'Tis reported there was an Oracle concerning the *Thebans* in the *Peloponnesian* War, which foretold the Battel at *Delium*, and this at *Haliartus*, though this hapned thirty years after. The Oracle runs thus.

*Don't follow in your chase the eager Hound
Upon the Confines, fly th' Orchalian Ground
That den of Foxes.*

This place about *Delium* he calls the Confines, where *Bæotia* borders upon *Attica*; and the Hill *Orchalides*, which now they call *Alopecon*, lies in that part of *Haliartus*, which is towards *Helicon*.

The *Lacedæmonians* look'd upon *Pausanias* his proceedings as so dishonourable to a *Spartan* General, that they wou'd have tri'd him for his Life, but he durst not venture to appear, so fled into *Tegæa*, where he devoted himself to a private Life in the Temple of *Minerva*.

Lyfander's poverty which was discover'd at his death, made his virtue more admir'd, when it appear'd that from so much plenty
and

and power, such rich presents from so many Cities, which were under his Government, he had not at all encreas'd the wealth of his own private Family. This is observ'd by *Theopompus*, whom we may sooner believe when he commends, than when he finds fault, for men are more apt to discommend than praise. *Ephorus* says that upon some dispute between the Confederates with *Sparta*, when *Lyfander's* writings were to be examin'd, *Agefilaus* was order'd to make the search, who finding a discourse of *Lyfander's* concerning the Government, where he endeavour'd to show how advantageous 'twould be to the Commonwealth, if the right of succession, which the Family of the *Eurentiontidæ* and *Agiadæ* pretended to, was broke, and the Kingdom made elective. This discourse *Agefilaus* design'd to publish, and discover by that means what sort of a Friend *Lyfander* was to 'em in private. But *Lacratidas* a wise man, and at that time President of the Council, wou'd not suffer him so basely to abuse a great General's memory, and told him that these papers which were so plausibly and ingeniously writ, deserv'd to rest honourably with their Author, and that 'twas inhumane to dig *Lyfander* out of his Grave. The *Spartans* bestow'd many honours on him after his death, amongst which this was none of the least;

least; There were some who had engag'd themselves to *Lysander's* Daughters while every thing about him appear'd Rich and Splendid, but when they saw how poor and honest he died, they broke off their contract. These in respect to *Lysander's* memory the *Spartans* severely fin'd: For there was it seems in *Sparta* a Law which punish'd as well those that broke off, or deferr'd a promis'd marriage, as those who engag'd in an ill one, and this Law laid hold on those chiefly who endeavour'd to marry into rich, rather than good Families. Thus we have faithfully related all the Remarkable passages which we cou'd gather of *Lysander's* Life.

THE

THE
LIFE
OF
L. C. SYLLA.

Englished from the Greek,
By *William Davies*, Fellow of *Trinity*
College in *Cambridge*.

VOLUME III.

L*Ucius Cornelius Sylla* was descended of a *Patrician* or Noble Family. Of his Ancestors, *Rufinus*, they say, had been Consul, and that his Honour met with a more signal disgrace: For being found possessed of Plate, to the value of above ten pounds more than the Law allowed, he was thereupon put out of the Senate. His Posterity have lain ever since in obscurity, nor had *Sylla* himself any such splendid Education.

SYLLA.



e Sylla lays his Arms and Empire down
 quits his power, and takes a private gown
 ample strange! and which we scarce beleive;
 erce Tyrants sheath their swords, and yet they live!



on. In his younger days he dwelt in hired Lodgings, for which he paid but a very small rate, insomuch as in after-times it was upbraided to him as one who had been fortunate above his Quality. And as he was boasting and magnifying himself for his Exploits in *Libya*, a Person of Worth and Ingenuity made answer; *And how canst Thou be an honest man, who since the death of a Father, who left thee nothing, hast purchased so much?* The then present Age was not absolutely an Age of clean and upright manners, but was already declin'd and fallen in love with Riches and Luxury: however then, in this Gentleman's Opinion, they who had deserted the Ancient Hereditary meanness of their Family, were as much to blame as those who had run out a fair Estate. And after, when he had seized the Power into his hands and slew many, a Freeman of the City, being suspected to have concealed one of the Proscribed, and for that reason sentenced to be cast headlong down the *Tarpeian* Rock, in a reproachful way, recounted, how that they had lived long together in familiar converse under the same Roof, himself for the upper Rooms paying two thousand Sesterces, and *Sylla* for the lower three thousand; so as the difference between their Fortunes then was no more but one thousand Sesterces, which in *Attick* Coin give two hundred

At seven
pence half
penny a
Drachma.

hundred and fifty Drachma's. And thus much of his Original.

His other shape of Body appears by his Statues, only his grey Eyes, of themselves extream fierce and glaring, the complexion of his face rendred yet more formidable to look on, for it brake out into red fiery Pimples, intermixt here and there with spots of white. Hence, by report, he was surnamed *Sylla*, in allusion to which an *Athenian* Droll cast out this Scoff in Verse,

Sylla's a Mulberry drudg'd o'er with Meal.

Nor is it improper to make use of such remarks as these, in the decyphering of a Person, who by Nature was so addicted to railery, as in his youthful obscurer years he would converse freely with Mimicks and Jesters, and accompany them in all their wild Fegaries. And, when Lord of All, he was often wont to muster together the most impudent Stage-Players and merry Fellows of the Town, to drink with, and play Prizes of Wit, without seasonable regard had to his Age, or Dignity of his Place, and to the prejudice of other important Affairs. At hours of refreshment it was not in *Sylla's* Nature to admit of any thing that was serious, and though at other times he was a man of business, and somewhat austere of counte-

countenance, yet would he alter so, all of a sudden, at his first entrance upon Wine and good Fellowship, as to Minstrels and Dancing-women he became tractable, and to all sorts of humours pliant and condescending. The cause of this loose distemper in him, could be no other than Nature her self, ever prone to love and violently breaking forth into all manner of voluptuousness, from which in his old Age he could not refrain. He constantly from his youth affected *Macrobius*, the Player. In his first Amours it happ'ned, that he made court to a common but rich Lady, *Nicopolis* by Name, and what by the air of his Youth, and what by an agreeable behaviour, won so far on her Affections in Quality of a Gallant, as dying she bequeathed him her whole Substance; he likewise inherited the Estate of a Mother-in-law, who loved him as her own Son. By these means he had pretty well advanced his Fortunes.

He was chosen *Questor* to *Marius* in his first Consulship, and set sail with him for *Africa*, to War upon *Jugurtha*. Here as to other Points he approved himself to all men, but more especially, by closing in dexterously with an accidental occasion, made a Friend of *Bocchus* King of *Numidia*. For having honourably entertained the King's Embassadors, after their escape from *Numidian*

dian Robbers, he sent them on their Journey with Presents and a safe Convoy. As for *Bocchus*, he had long since hated and dreaded his Son-in-law, *Jugurtha*, who at that time had been worsted in the Field, and fled to him for shelter: Wherefore spying his opportunity, he called *Sylla* in, as chusing by him, rather than by himself, to make seizure and delivery of *Jugurtha*. *Sylla*, when he had communicated the business to *Marius*, and received from him a small Detachment, put himself on imminent danger; for confiding in a *Barbarian*, and one who had been unfaithful to his own Relations, out of desire to apprehend another man's Person, he made surrender of his own. *Bocchus*, having both of them now in his power, was necessitated to betray one or other, and after long debate with himself, at last resolved on his first Design, and gave up *Jugurtha* into the hands of *Sylla*.

For this *Marius* Triumphed, but the Glory of the Enterprize, which the conscious Envy of *Marius* thought due to *Sylla*, grieved him inwardly. And the truth on it is, *Sylla* himself was by Nature vain-glorious, and this being the first time, that from a low and private condition he had risen to Esteem amongst the Citizens, and tasted of Honour, his Ambition bore him up higher to such a pitch of Ostentation, as to cause the

the Figure of this Action to be engraved on a Signet, which he made use of ever after. The Impres was, Bocchus *delivering and Sylla receiving of Jugurtha*. This toucht *Marius* to the quick, however judging *Sylla* to be below a Rival, he made use of him as Lieutenant-General in his second Consulship, and in his third, as Tribune. And by his means were many considerable Services done. In his Lieutenant-Generallship he took *Copillus*, Chief of the *Tectosages*, Prisoner, and compelled the *Marsians*, a great and populous Nation, to become Friends and Confederates of the *Romans*.

From henceforward *Sylla* perceiving that *Marius* bore a jealous eye over him, and would no longer afford him opportunities of Action, but rather opposed his growth, he applied himself to *Catulus*, *Marius* his Colleague, a brave man, only somewhat unactive as to War. Under this General, who entrusted him with the chiefest and greatest Commands, it came to pass, that, together with Glory, he arrived at Power. He subdued by Arms most part of the *Alpine Barbarians*. There happ'ning a scarcity in the Armies, he took that care upon himself, and brought in such store of Provisions, as not only to refresh the Soldiers of *Catulus* with Plenty, but likewise to supply *Marius*. This, as he writes himself, struck *Marius* to the

P

very

very Heart. So slight and childish was the first beginning and rise of that Enmity between them, which nourished with Civil Blood and endless Divisions, grew up to Tyranny, and the Confusion of the whole State. This argues *Eurypides* to be a wise Man, and well skilled in the Distempers of the Body Politick, in that he forewarned all Men to beware of *Ambition*, as the most destructive and pernicious Goddess to those who consult her.

Sylla by this time thinking that the Reputation of his Arms abroad was sufficient to entitle him to part of the Civil Administration, betook himself immediately from the Camp to the Assembly, and fell a canvassing for a Pretorship, but lost it. The fault of this disappointment he wholly ascribes to the People, who knowing his intimacy with King *Bocchus*, and for that reason expecting, that if he was made *Ædile* before his Pretorship, that he would then shew them noble Game, and the Encounters of *Lybian* Beasts, chose other Pretors, on purpose to force him on the *Ædileship*. The vanity of this Pretext was sufficiently disproved by matter of fact. For the year following, partly by stroaking the People with fair Words, and partly by Money, he got himself elected Pretor. Wherefore carrying the Place, and withal hastily telling
Cæsar,

Cæsar, that against him he should make use of his Own Authority, *Cæsar* smilingly replied, *You do well to call it your Own; for you have bought it.* At the end of his Pretorship he was sent over into *Cappadocia*, with a specious pretence, to re-establish *Ariobarzanes* in his Kingdom, but in reality to give check to the growing Power of *Mithridates*, a mighty stirring Prince, who had already invested himself in as vast a new-acquired Power and Dominion, as was that of his ancient Inheritance. He carried over with him no great Forces of his own, but making use of the chearful supply of the Confederates, flung out *Gordius*, with huge Slaughter of the *Cappadocians*, more especially of the *Armenian* Succours, and declared *Ariobarzanes* King.

During his stay on the Banks of *Euphrates* there came unto him *Orobazus*, a *Parthian*, in quality of Ambassador from King *Arfaces*, whereas yet there had been no Correspondence between both Nations. And this we may lay to the account of *Sylla's* Felicity, that he should be the first *Roman* to whom the *Parthians* made address for Alliance and Friendship. At the time of Reception, having ordered three Chairs of State to be set, one for *Ariobarzanes*, one for *Orobazus*, and a third for himself, he placed himself in the midst and gave Audi-

Romans
and Per-
thians.

ence: For which the King of *Parthia* afterwards put *Orobazus* to death. Some People commended *Sylla* for his lofty carriage towards the *Barbarians*: Others again accused him of Arrogance and unseasonable Ambition. It is reported, that a certain *Chalcidian*, of *Orobazus* his Retinue, looking *Sylla* wistfully in the Face, and observing judiciously the Motions of his Soul and Body, according to the Rules of Art, should say, *That it was impossible for him not to be the greatest Man, or rather a wonder how he could even then abstain from being Head of all.*

At his return *Censorinus* impeach'd him of Extortion, for drawing a vast sum of Money from a well affected and associate Kingdom. However *Censorinus* appeared not at the Tryal, but let fall his Accusation. The quarrel between *Sylla* and *Marius* began to break out afresh, receiving new life from the Ambition of *Bocchus*, who to please the People of *Rome*, and gratifie *Sylla*, set up in the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* consecrated Images of *Victory*, and withal a Golden *Jugurtha*, in posture as he was delivered by him to *Sylla*: but as *Marius* attempted to pull them down in a rage, and others were aiding to *Sylla*, the City had like to have taken fire by that violent Commotion, had not the Confederate-War, which lay long a smothering,
blaz'd

blaz'd forth at last, and respited the Sedition.

In the course of this War, which had many great Revolutions, and which shockt the *Romans* most, and endangered the very being of the Commonwealth, *Marius* was not able to signalize his Valour in any action, but left behind him a clear proof, that a warlike Spirit stands in need of a strong and vigorous Body. *Sylla*, on the other hand, by his extraordinary Deeds, got the name of a great Commander amongst the Citizens, of the greatest amongst his Friends, and the most fortunate amongst his Adversaries. Nor made this the like Impression on him, as it made on the Spirits of *Timotheus* the Son of *Conon*, an *Athenian*, who, when his Adversaries had pictured him asleep, and *Fortune* by his side, casting her nets over Cities, rag'd and storm'd at those who did it, as if by ascribing his successes to Fortune, they had rob'd him of his just honours, and to the People at his return from the Wars, said, *And in this, ye men of Athens, Fortune had no part.* For this high presumption of his, the Goddess grew so perversely cross, that from that time he was never able to compass any thing that was great, but proving altogether unfortunate in his attempts, and falling into discredit with the People, was at last banisht the City.

Sylla on the contrary would not only having frankly acknowledged such Divine Felicities and Favours, but withal magnifying and extolling what was done to the Skies, had plac'd it all to Fortune, whether out of haughty purpose, or a real sense of the Deity. He remarks, in his Memoirs, that of all his well-advised Actions, none proved so lucky in the Execution, as what on a sudden he had boldly enterprized. And in that Character which he gives of himself, *That he was born for Fortune rather than War*, he seems to attribute more to his Fortune than Valour. In short, he makes himself entirely the creature of Fortune, accounting even his unanimous agreement with *Metellus*, a man of equal Authority with himself, and his Father-in-law, as a blessing from Heaven. For expecting to have met in him a turbulent, he found a quiet Colleague. Moreover, in those Memoirs which he hath dedicated to *Lucullus*, he admonisheth him to esteem nothing more solid, than what the Gods should advise him in a Vision by Night. And when he was sent forth with an Army to the Confederate-War, he relates, how that the Earth about *Laverna* opened wide, and from thence issued much fire, shooting forth a bright flame up to the Heavens. The Southsayers upon this foretold, that

a valiant Person of rare and singular aspect, should take the Government in hand, and quiet the present troubles of the City. *Sylla* affirm'd, he was the man, for he had that about him which was extraordinary, *a golden head of hair*; nor was he ashamed openly to attest his Valour, after so great and gallant performances. And thus much of his opinion of the Gods.

As to the rest of his conditions, he was an irregular sort of man, inconsistent with himself: much given to Rapine, to Prodigality much more: in promoting or disgracing whom he pleased, alike unaccountable: cringing to those he stood in need of, and domineering over others who stood in need of him; so that it was hard to tell, whether his Nature had more in it of disdain or flattery. As to his unequal distribution of punishments, when upon slight grounds he would put to the torture, and again bear gently with the greatest Crimes, and receive into grace the most heinous Transgressors upon easie terms, but small and inconsiderable offences chastise with Death, and Confiscation of Goods; one might from hence judge, that in himself he was really of a bitter revengeful Nature, which however he could qualify, upon reason of Interest. In this very Confederate-War, when the Soldiers with Stones

and Clubs, had killed a chief Commander, his own Legate, *Albinus* by name, he passed by such horrid indignity without taking Cognizance, giving it out moreover in a boast, that hereafter he should have the Soldiers more intent upon the War, to repair their breach of Discipline, by some notable piece of service; nor took he notice of the clamours of those that cried for Justice, but casting in mind, how to crush *Marius*, now that he saw the Confederate War to be at an end, he made much of the Army, in hopes to get himself declared General of the Forces against *Mithridates*.

At his return to *Rome* he was chosen Consul with *Quintus Pompeius*, in the fiftieth year of his Age. and then he took to Wife, the Illustrious Lady *Cecilia*, Daughter to *Metellus*, the Chief Priest. The common People made Sonnets on the Marriage, and many of the Nobility were disgusted at it, esteeming him, as *Livy* writes, unworthy of the Lady, whom before they thought worthy of a Consulship. This was not his only Wife, for first in his younger days he was joined to *Ilia*, by whom he had a Daughter; after her to *Ælia*, and then to *Cælia*, whom he dismissed as Barren, but with respect and a good report, adding moreover Presents. The Match

Match between him and *Metella* falling out a few days after, gave suspicion that he had wrongfully accused *Cælia*: he was evermore indulgent to *Metella*, inſomuch as when he reſuſed to recal the baniſht *Marians*, the People made their humble application to *Metella*. And the *Athenians*, it's thought, had harder meaſure, at the Sacking of the Town, becauſe in a jeering way, they had affronted *Metella* from off the Walls. But of this hereafter.

At preſent eſteeming the Conſulſhip but ſmall in Compariſon of things to come, he was impatiently carried on in thought to the *Mithridatick* War. Here he was withſtood by *Marius*, who out of mad affectation of Glory, and thirſt of Empire, thoſe never dying Paſſions, though he were broken in Body, and inſufficient for the laſt ſervices, by reaſon of his Age, yet ſtill coveted after Foreign and Tranſmarine Wars; and whiſt *Sylla* was departed for the Camp, to order the reſt of his Affairs there, ſate brooding at home, and at laſt hatcht that execrable Sedition, which wrought *Rome* more miſchief, than all her Enemies together could have done, as was foretold by the Gods. For a flame broke forth of its own accord, from under the ſlaves of their Enſigns, and was hard to be extinguiſht. Three Ravens brought forth their young
and

and eat them, carrying the reliques into the Nest again. Mice having gnawed the Consecrated Gold of the Temple, the *Ædiles* took one Female in a trap, but she bringing forth five young ones in the very trap, devoured three of them. But what was greatest of all, in a calm and clear sky there was heard the sound of a Trumpet, but with such a strong and dismal blast, as struck terror and amazement into the hearts of the People. The *Hetruscane* Sages affirmed, that this Prodigy betok'ned the mutation of the Age, and revolution of the whole Universe. For according to them there be in all eight Ages, differing one from another in Lives and Conversation, and to each of these God has allotted a certain measure of times, determined by the Circuit of the great year; when one Age is run out, at the approach of another, there appears some wonderful sign from Earth or Heaven, as is plain to those who have made it their business to study such things, that there has succeeded in the World a new race of Men, disagreeing in Customs and Institutes of Life, and more or less regarded by the Gods, than the preceeding. Amongst other mighty changes that happen, as they say, at the turn of Ages, even the Art of Divination grows into esteem sometimes, and predicts certainties from

from clear and evident tokens, sent from God: and then again, in another Generation waxes as low to a decline, as frivolous for the most part, taking in future events through weak and darksome Organs. This was the Mythology of the *Tuscan Sages*, who were thought to be more knowing than other People. Whilst the Senate sat in Consultation with the South-sayers, concerning these Prodigies, in the Temple of *Bellona*, Goddess of War, a Sparrow came flying in before them all, with a Grasshopper in the mouth; and part she let fall, and part she bore away. The Diviners doubted a Commotion and Dissention to arise between the Country and City. For with them the clamorous Grasshopper signifies the Country, and Sparrow, the City.

Now *Marius* join'd to him *Sulpitius*, a Fellow second to none for the most exquisite Villainies, so as we need not enquire wherein he excelled others, but wherein he excelled himself in Wickedness. He was cruel, bold, rapacious, openly dishonest, and throughout a Rogue, making sale by out-cry of the *Roman* Freedom to *Libertines* and Strangers, and telling out the price on the publick Money-tables. He maintained three thousand Sword-men, and had always about him a company of young Gentlemen ready on all occasions, whom

whom he styled his *Antisenatarian-band*; having caused a Law to be enacted, that no Senator should contract a debt of above three thousand Drachma's, he himself after Death, was found indebted three Millions. This was the man whom *Marius* let in upon the Commonwealth, and who ordering all things by Force and the Sword, made several Ordinances of dangerous consequence, and amongst the rest, that same, which gave to *Marius* the Conduct of the *Mithridatick* War. Upon this the Consuls proclaim a Publick Cessation of business, but as they were holding a Senate in the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*, he let loose the Rabble upon them, and amongst many others slew *Pompey*, the Consuls young Son, in the *Forum*, *Pompey* himself hardly escaping in the Crowd. But *Sylla* being closely pursued into the House of *Marius*, was forc'd to come forth and dissolve the Cessation; for this cause *Sulpitius* having deposed *Pompey*, continu'd *Sylla* in his Consulship, only the *Mithridatick* Expedition, that he conferred on *Marius*.

There were immediately dispatcht to *Nola*, Tribunes, to receive the Army, and bring it to *Marius*; but seeing that *Sylla* was got before to the Camp, and the Soldiers upon hearing of the News had stoned the Tribunes, *Marius* in requital, put the
Friends

Friends of *Sylla* in the City to the Sword, and rifled their Goods. The People were all up in a hurry, shifting and running to and fro, some from the Camp to the City, others from the City to the Camp. The Senate, then no more its own, but wholly Governed by the Dictates of *Marius* and *Sulpitius*, alarm'd at the report of *Sylla's* advancing his Troops towards the City, sent forth two of the Pretors, *Brutus* and *Servilius*, to forbid his nearer approach: The Soldiers would have slain these Pretors in a fury, for their rough Language to *Sylla*; however, breaking their Rods asunder, and tearing off their Purple Robes, after much contumelious usage, they sent them back, to the sad and sudden dejection of those that beheld their Magistrates despoiled of Pretorian Ensigns, and withal declaring, that things were now manifestly come to a Rupture and past cure: *Marius* put himself in a readiness, and *Sylla* with his Colleague moved from *Nola*, at the head of six compleat Legions, all whom he found willing to march up directly against the City; but he himself as yet was doubtful in thought, and apprehensive of the danger. As he was sacrificing, *Posthumius* the South-sayer having inspected the Entrails, stretching forth both hands to *Sylla*, required to be bound and kept in Custody till

till the Battel was over, as willing if they had not speedy Success, to suffer the utmost Punishment. It's said, that there appeared to *Sylla* in a Dream a certain Goddess, whom the *Romans* learnt to worship from the *Cappadoces*, whether she was the *Moon*, or *Pallas*, or *Bellona*: This same Goddess, to his thinking, stood by him, and put into his Hand Thunder and Lightning, then naming his Enemies one by one, bad him discharge on them, who all of them dropt at the discharge, and disappeared. Encouraged by this Vision, and relating the same to this Collegue, next day he led on towards *Rome*: About *Picinæ* being met by an Embassy, beseeching him not to fall on of a sudden, in the heat of a March, (for the Senate had decreed to do him all the right imaginable) he consented to lodge on the place, and sent his Officers to measure out the Ground, (as is usual) for a Camp; so as the Ambassadors believing it, returned. They were no sooner gone, but he sent a Party before, under the Command of *Lucius Bassillus* and *C. Mommius*, to secure the City-Gate and Wall on the side of the *Æsculine-hill*; then at the Heels of these he himself followed with all speed. *Bassillus* fell with success into the City, but the unarmed Multitude pelting him with Stones and Tiles from off the Houses, stopt his

his further Progress, and beat him back to the Wall. *Sylla* by this time was come up, and seeing what was done, called aloud on his Men to set fire to the Houses, and taking a flaming Torch, he himself led the way, and commanded the Archers to make use of their Fire-darts, letting fly at the tops of Houses: This he did without the least consideration, all enraged, and yielding the Conduct of that days work to Passion, as if all he saw were Enemies, without respect or pity either to Friends, Relations, or Acquaintance, he went on by Fire, which knows no distinction betwixt Friend or foe.

In this dispute *Marius* being driven into the Temple of *Mother-Earth*, would from thence have drawn in the Bondmen by Proclamation of Freedom, but the Enemy coming on, he was overpowered and fled the City.

Sylla having called a Senate, had Sentence of Death passed on *Marius*, and some few others, amongst whom was *Sulpitius* Tribune of the People. *Sulpitius* was executed, being betrayed by his Servant whom *Sylla* first made free, and then threw him head-long down the *Tarpeian* Rock. As for *Marius*, he set a Price on his Life, by Proclamation; but neither gratefully nor politically, if we consider into whose House not
long

long before he put himself at Mercy, and was safely dismissed. Albeit had *Marius* not let go *Sylla*, but suffered him to be slain by the Hands of *Sulpitius*, he might have been Lord of all; but he spared his Life, and a few days after, upon like occasion, received not like measure.

By these Proceedings *Sylla* gave secret distaste to the Senate; but the displeasure and free indignation of the Commonalty shewed it self plainly by their Actions. For they ignominiously rejected *Nonius* his Nephew, and *Servius*, who put in for Offices of State by his Interest, and chose others for Magistrates, by honoring whom, they thought to have grieved him most. He made semblance of extreme satisfaction hereat, as if the People by his means had again enjoyed the Liberty of doing what seem'd best to them. And to pacifie the publick *Odium*, he created *Lucius Cinna* Consul, one of the adverse Party, having first bound him under Oaths and Imprecations, to be true to his Interest: For *Cinna* ascending the Capitol with a Stone in his Hand, swore solemnly and with a direful Curse, that he himself, if he kept not the Accord, might be cast out of the City, as that Stone out of his Hand; he thereupon cast the Stone to the Ground, in the presence of many People.

Cinna,

Cinna had no sooner entred on his charge, but fell to disturb the Establishment, and having prepared an information against *Sylla*, suborned *Virginus*, one of the Tribunes of the People, to be his accuser; but *Sylla* leaving him and the Court of Judicature to themselves, set forth against *Mithridates*.

About the time that *Sylla* was making ready, to put off with his Forces from *Italy*, besides many other Divine Omens which befell *Mithridates* at *Pergamos*, there goes a Story, that the Statue of *Victory*, with a Crown in her hand, which the *Pergamenians* by Engines from above let down on him, when she had almost reach'd his head, fell asunder, and the Crown tumbling down into the midst of the Theatre, broke to pieces against the ground, so as this startled the Vulgar, and hugely disquieted the Mind of *Mithridates*, altho his Affairs hitherto had succeeded beyond expectation; for at present having wrested from the *Romans* *Asia*, from the * Kings *Bithynia* and *Cappadocia*, he made *Pergamus* his Royal Seat, bestowing on his Friends Riches, Principalities, and Kingdoms. Of his Sons, the one (*Arcathias*) residing in *Pontus* and *Bosphorus*, held his Ancient Realm as far as the Desarts, above the Lake *Mæotis*, without molestation: *Ariarathes* (the other) was about reducing *Thrace* and *Macedon*, with a

* Nicomedes and Ariobarzanes.

great Army, to Obedience. His other Commanders with Forces under them, invaded other Quarters; especially *Archilaus*, who by his Ships gave in a manner absolute Law at Sea, had subjected the Isles *Cyclades*, together with other situated within *Malea*, and had taken *Æubæa* it self. From *Athens*, his Seat of War, he made his Excursions as far as *Thessaly*, and drew after him most of the States of *Greece*, without the least impeachment, save only at *Chæronea*. For here *Brutius Sura*, Deputy of *Sentius*, Governour of *Macedon*, a man excelling in Valour and Prudence, met with *Archelaus*, and though, like a Torrent, he came pouring along *Bæotia*, made stout resistance, and giving him thrice Battel, repulsed and forc'd him off again to Sea; however being Commanded by *Lucius Lucullus* to give place to his Successor *Sylla*, and resign the War to whom it was decreed, he presently left *Bæotia*, and returned back to *Sintius*, although his Success had out-gone all hopes, and *Greece* was well disposed to a Revolt, upon account of his gallant behaviour. These be the glorious Actions of *Brutius*.

Sylla at his arrival received by their Ambassadors the Complements of all the Cities of *Greece*, except *Athens*, which being forc'd by the Tyrant *Aristion* within to hold

hold for the King, he came against it with all his might, and investing the Haven *Pyreus*, laid formal Siege to it, erecting all manner of Batteries, and trying all manner of Assaults; whereas had he forborn never so little, he might without hazard have taken the Upper City by Famine, being already reduc'd to extreamity, through want of Necessaries; but hasting to *Rome*, and fearing some Innovation there, by many Adventures, many Fights, and vast Expence, he pusht on the War; for besides other Equipage, the very Work about the Engines of Battery was supplied with no less than ten thousand Yoak of Mules, employ'd daily in that Service; and when Timber grew scarce (for many of the Works fail'd, some quash'd to pieces by their own weight, others taking fire by the continual play of the Enemy) he made bold with the sacred Groves, and cut down the stately Walks of the Academy, which stands in the Suburbs, and the *Lyceum*; and being there wanted a vast Summ of Money to carry on the War, he broke up the unavoidable Treasures of *Greece*, that of *Epidaurus*, and that of *Olympia*, sending for the fairest and richest Offertories; he wrote likewise to the *Amphyctiones* at *Delphos*. That it were better to remit the Wealth of the God to him, for that he

would keep it more securely, or in case he made use of it, restore as much. And of his Friends he sent *Caphis* the *Phocean* on this Message, commanding him to receive each Particular by weight. *Caphis* came to *Delphos*, but was loth to touch holy things, and with many Tears in the presence of the *Amphyctiones*, bewailed the Necessity: But some of them making as if they heard the sound of a Harp from the innermost Shrine, he, whether himself believ'd it, or else was willing to strike a Religious awe into *Sylla*, sent back an Express. To which *Sylla* replied in a scoffing way, That it was matter of wonder to him, that *Caphis* understood Musick to be a sign of Joy, not Anger; and therefore wish'd him to go on boldly, and receive it from the hands of a Gracious and bountiful God.

The rest of the things that were delivered out, escaped the memory of most *Grecians*, save the Silver Tun, that only Relick of Regal Donation, which for its weight and bulk the Carriages not being able to receive, when the *Amphyctiones* were forced to cut in pieces, they presently call'd to mind, now *Titus Quinctius Flaminius*, and *Manius* * *Acilius*, now *Paulus Æmilius*. One of whom, when he had thrown *Antiochus* out of *Greece*, the others when they had

* *Acilius*.

had brought under * *Macedonian* Kings, not only abstained from the *Grecian* Temples, but added to them Gifts and Honour, and much Veneration. Those indeed according to Law being only elected Chief Leaders of Men well-disciplined, and taught to yield ready obedience to Command, themselves Great in Soul and Mean in Expences, lived within the Bounds of the ordinary establish'd Charges, accounting it a greater disgrace to stoop basely to their own Soldiers, than to stand in awe of an Enemy; whereas the Commanders of these times, attaining to Superiority by force, not worth; and having need of Arms one against another, rather than an Enemy, were constrained to temporize in Authority, and hiring the Soldiers labour at the price of Luxury, have rendred their whole Country at unawares Mercenary, and themselves Slaves to the vilest of Wretches, to the intent they might Lord it over their Betters. These Practices cast out *Marius*, and again brought him in against *Sylla*. The same caused *Cinna* to be the Assassin of *Octavius*, and *Fimbria* of *Flaccus*. To which beginnings *Sylla* contributed not the least; For he to corrupt and call over those who were under the Command of others, would be munificent and profuse towards those who were under his own, so as by

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* Philip
& Perles.

drawing some of the adverse Party to a revolt, and his own men to a dissolute course, he came to be in want of a large Treasury, especially for that Siege.

Sylla had a vehement and an implacable desire to Conquer *Athens*, whether out of emulation, fighting as it were, against the shadow of that once Famous City, or out of anger, stomaching those Flouts and Scurrillous jests, wherewith the Tyrant *Aristion*, fooling and skipping about daily, had provoked him and *Metella* from off the Walls.

The Tyrant *Aristion* had his very Being compounded of Wantonness and Cruelty, receiving into himself as common Sewer the worst of *Mithridates* his ill humours and vicious qualities, who like some fatal disease, after its deliverance from innumerable Wars, many Tyrannies and Seditious, brought the City to the last extremity. At the time when a * *Medimnus* of Wheat was to be sold in the City for one Thousand Drachma's, and men were forc'd to live on Feverfew, growing round the Cittadel, and eat shooes and Oyl-bags sodden, he daily carrousing and feasting it in the open face of Noon, then dancing in Armour, and sporting at the Enemy, suffered the holy Lamp of the Goddess to expire for want of Oyl, and to the Chief-Priestess,

* About six
bushel.

Priestess, who demanded of him an * Hemi-^{* About a}na of Wheat, he sent the like quantity of^{Pint.} Pepper. The Senators and Priests, who came in humble guise, to beg of him to take Compassion of the City, and treat a Peace with Sylla, he drove at and dispersed with a flight of Arrows. At last with much ado, he sent forth two or three of his revelling Companions to parley, whom Sylla, perceiving that they made no overtures towards an accommodation, but went on haranguing in praise of *Theseus*, *Eumo'pus*, and their *Median Trophies*, replied to them thus, *Happy men! ye may put up your Speeches and be gone, for I was sent by the Romans to Athens, not to learn, but to reduce Rebels to obedience.*

In the mean time News came to Sylla, that some old men discoursing in the *Ceramicum*, were over-heard to blame the Tyrant, for not securing the Passages and Avenues on the side of the Gate *Heptachalcos*, where only the Enemy might easily get over. Sylla neglected not the report, but going in the Night, and discovering the place to be assaultable, set streight to work: Sylla himself makes mention in his Memoirs, that *Marcus Teius*, the first man who scald the Wall, meeting with an Adversary, and striking him on the head-piece a home stroke, broke his Sword, however

shrunk not from his ground, but withstood and held him fast. The City was taken on that part, as 'tis recorded by the most ancient of the *Athenians*.

When they had thrown down the Wall, and made all level betwixt the *Pyrean*, and Sacred-Gate, about the dead of night, *Sylla* entred the breach in dreadful manner with many Trumpets and Cornets, with the row-sing shout and cry of an Army, falling to the spoil and slaughter, and scouring through the streets with Swords drawn, so as there was no numbring of the slain; only from the space of ground overflowed with Blood, we may even now take a survey of their Multitude, for to pass by the execution done on other Quarters of the City, the bloodshed about the Market place, took up the whole *Ceramicum*, within the Double gate, and according to most Writers, passing through both doors, overwhelmed the Suburbs. Nor did the People which fell thus in such vast heaps, excel the number of those, who out of pity and love of their Country, then at point of destruction, slew themselves; the best of them despairing and dreading to survive; as not expecting either Humanity or Moderation in *Sylla*. At length, partly by the instance of *Midias* and *Calliphon*, two exil'd men, beseeching and casting themselves at his feet, partly by the intercession

intercession of those Senators who followed the Camp, having had his fill of Revenge, and making some honourable mention of the Ancient *Athenians*, *I forgive* (said he) *the Many for the sake of a Few, the Living for the Dead.* He took *Athens*, according to his own Memoirs, on the Calends of *March*, which fall out exactly on the first of *Authesterion*, on which day the *Athenians* keep a Solemn Commemoration of the many Ruins and Devastations, occasioned by excessive rains, particularly of the *Deluge* which hap'ned about that time.

At the taking of the Town, the Tyrant fled into the Cittadel, and was there besieged by *Curio*, who had that charge under Command. He held out a considerable time, but for want of Water yielding up himself, clearly evidenced the Divine Providence. For on the same day and minute that *Curio* conducted him down, the Clouds gathering in a calm Heaven, there showed down a great quantity of rain, and filled the Cittadel with Water.

Not long after *Sylla* won the Haven *Pyræus*, and burnt most of it, amongst the rest *Philo's* Arsenal, a stupendious Work.

In the mean time *Taxilles*, *Mithridates* his General, coming down from *Thrace* and *Macedon*, with an Army of one hundred thousand Foot, ten thousand Horse, and ninety

ninety Chariots, fang'd at *Axles* with Iron Sythes, would have joyn'd *Archelaus*, who lay hovering with a Navy on the Coast of *Munichia*, with intention, neither to quit the Sea, or engage the *Romans* in Fight, but to draw out the War in length, and cut off the Enemies Provision, which *Sylla* perceiving much better than himself, pass'd with his Forces into *Bæotia*, from out a region barren and unable to maintain a Camp in time of Peace. He was thought by some to have taken false measures, when leaving *Attica*, a rugged Country, and uneasy for the Cavalry to move in, he put himself into the plain and open Fields of *Bæotia*, knowing the *Barbarians* strength to consist most in Horse and Chariots. But as was said before, to avoid Famine and Scarcity, he was forc'd to run the risque of a Battel: Moreover he was troubled for *Hortensius*, a man expert in War, and of a rough Soliery Constitution, whom on his way to *Sylla* with Forces from *Thessaly*, the *Barbarians* awaited in the * Streights: For these reasons *Sylla* drew off into *Bæotia*. *Caphis* * our Country-man led *Hortensius* another way unknown to the *Barbarians*, by *Parnassus* just under *Tithora*, being then no such great City as 'tis now, but a Garrison built a round on a steep Precipice, which the *Phocenses*, to escape the Invasion of *Xerxes*,

* Ther-
mopule.

* Plu-
tarch's
Country-
man a-
Chzrone-
an.

Xerxes, put themselves and goods into, and were saved. *Hortensius* encamping here, kept off the Enemy by day, and at night descending by difficult passages into *Patronis*, join'd the Forces of *Sylla*, who came to meet him. Thus united, they posted themselves on a fertile Hill, on the Plains of *Elateia*, set round with Trees, and watered at the foot: It's called *Philo-beotus*, the Situation and Richness of which Soil, *Sylla* praiseth wonderfully.

As they lay thus encamped, they seem'd to the Enemy a contemptible number, for they were not above fifteen hundred Horse, and less than fifteen thousand Foot; wherefore, the rest of the Commanders over-perswading *Archelaus*, and drawing up the Army, covered the Field with Horses, Chariots, Bucklers, Targets: The clamour and hideous roar of so many Nations, standing thick together in *Battalia*, tore the Sky; nor was the Pomp and Gallantry of their costly array, altogether idle and unserviceable for terrour: For the brightness of their Armour, embellished with Gold and Silver magnificently, and the lustre of their *Median* and *Scythian* Coats, intermixt with Brass and shining Steel, cast forth a flaming and a dreadful sight, by the waving and moving to and fro of the Army, insomuch that the *Romans* shrunk them

them into their Trenches; and *Sylla* being unable by any means to remove the fear, and unwilling to force them to fight against their wills, was fain to sit down in quiet, ill-brooking though, to become the Subject of *Barbarian* Insolence and Laughter; this however above all advantaged him, for the Enemy from contemning of him, fell into disorder amongst themselves, and being less subject to Command, by reason of many Commanders, some few of them remained within the *Line*, but others, the Major part, lur'd out with hopes of prey and rapine, flew about the Countries many days Journey from the Camp, and by report demolished the City of *Panope*, rifled *Lebadea*, and rob'd the Oracle, without any Discipline.

Sylla all this while chafing and fretting to see the Cities all around destroyed, suffered not the Soldiery to indulge, but going forth, compelled them to divert *Cephus* from its ancient Channel, by casting up ditches and giving respite to none, shew'd himself rigorous in punishing the remiss, that growing weary of labour, they might be drawn by hardship to embrace danger; which fell out accordingly, for on the third day being hard at work, as *Sylla* passed by, they beg'd and clamour'd to be led against the Enemy. *Sylla* replied, That this demand

mand of War proceeded rather from a backwardness to labour, than any forwardness to fight; but if they were in good earnest Martially given, he bad them with their Arms get up thither, pointing at the ancient Tower of the *Parapotamians*, whereof at present, the City being laid wast, there remained only the Mountainous head, steep and craggy on all sides, and severed from Mount *Edulium*, the breadth of the River *Affus*, which running betwixt, and at the bottom of the same Hill, falling into *Cephisus*, with an impetuous Confluence, made that a safe Height to lodge on; wherefore beholding the Brass Targettiers to make up hastily, *Sylla* was willing to take prepossession, and took it by the vigorous Address of the Soldiers. *Archelaus* put back from hence, bent his Forces upon *Chæronea*. The *Chæroneans*, who bore Arms in the Roman Camp, beseeching *Sylla* not to abandon the City, he dispatcht *Geminus* the Tribune with one Legion, and withal sent out the *Chæroneans*, endeavouring, but not able to get in before *Geminus*; so active was he, and more swift to relief, than they who prayed Relief. *Juba* writes, that *Ericius* was the man sent, not *Geminus*. Thus narrowly escaped * our Native City.

* Plutarch's.

From

From *Lebadea* and the Cave of *Trophonius* there were spread abroad favourable Rumours and Prophecies of Victory to the *Romans*, which the Inhabitants report at large: And as *Sylla* himself affirms in the tenth Book of his Memoirs, *Quintus Titus*, an obscure Man of those who traffick into *Greece*, came to him after the Battel won at *Chæronea*, and declared that *Trophinius* had foretold another Fight and Victory on the same place, within a short time. After him a Soldier, by name *Salvenius*, brought an account from the God of the issue of Affairs in *Italy*. As to the Vision, they both agreed in this, that for Stature, and Majestick Grace they had seen somewhat in the likeness of *Jupiter Olympius*.

Sylla when he had passed over the *Assus*, march'd up to *Edylium*, and encamped close to *Archelaus*, who had intrench'd himself strongly between the Mountains *Acontium* and *Edylium*, towards those called *Assia*: The Place of his Intrenchment is to this day named from him *Archelaus*. *Sylla* after one days respite having left *Muræna* behind him, with one Legion and two Cohorts, to amuse the distracted Enemy with continual Alarms, went and sacrificed on the Banks of *Cephisus*. The holy Rights ended, he held on towards *Chæronea*, to receive the Forces there, and view Mount
Thurion,

Thurion, where the Enemy had posted themselves. This is a craggy Heighth, running up gradually to a Point, which we call *Ortkopagon*; at the foot of it, is the River *Morius*, and the Temple of *Apollo Thurius*: The God. had his Surname from *Thuro*, Mother of *Cheron*, whom ancient Fame makes Founder of *Chæronea*. Others assert, that the Cow, which *Apollo* gave to *Cadmus* for a Guide, appeared there, and that the Place took its Name from the Beast; for the *Phœnicians* call a Cow, *Thor*.

At *Sylla's* approach to *Chæronea*, the Tribune, who had been commanded out to guard the City, drew his Men into Arms, and meet him with a Garland of Laurel in his hand; which *Sylla* accepting of, and withal caressing and animating the Soldiers to the Encounter, two Men of *Chæronea*, *Homoloichus* and *Anaxidamus*, present themselves before him, and proffer with a small Party to dislodge those who were posted on *Thurium*; for that there lay a Path, unknown to the *Barbarians*, from *Petrochus* along by the *Musæum*, leading over head upon *Thurium*; by this way it was easie to fall on, and either stone them from above, or force them down into the Plain. *Sylla* assured of their Faith and Courage by *Geminus*, when he had exhorted them to go on with the Enterprise, Embattelled the
Army,

Army, and disposing of the Cavalry on both Wings, himself commanded the Right, and the left he committed to the direction of *Muræna*; in the Rear of all, *Gallus* and *Horrensus*, his Legates, had planted themselves on the upper Grounds, with the Cohorts of Reserve, to watch the motion of the Enemy, who with infinite numbers of Horse, and expedite light-armed Foot, having made the Wing pliant, and ready to wind about at pleasure gave suspicion that he intended to over-reach and enclose the *Romans*. In the mean time the *Chæroneans*, who had *Ericus* for Commander by appointment of *Sylla*, covertly surrounding *Thurium*, and discovering themselves, there arose a great Confusion and Rout, and mutual Slaughter amongst the *Barbarians*; for they kept not their stand, but making down in that hurry, cast themselves on their own Spears, and violently bore each other headlong, the Enemy from above pressing on, and wounding them on the open side, insomuch as there fell three thousand about *Thurium*. Some of them who escaped being met by *Muræna* as he stood in Array, were cut off and destroy'd. Others breaking through to their Friends, and falling disorderly into the Ranks, filled most part of the Army with fear and Tumult, and put the Chief Officers to a stand,

stand, which was no small disadvantage. For immediately upon the Discomposure, *Sylla* coming full speed to the Charge, disappointed the Service of their Armed Chariots, which require a good space of Ground to gather strength and impetuosity in the Career, whereas a short drift proves weak and ineffectual, like that of Engines without a full swing. Thus it fared with the *Barbarians* at present, whose first Chariots, that set forth spurtingly, and made but a faint impression when the *Romans* had repulsed, with a clattering din and slaughter they called for more, as is usual in the publick Cirque. By this time the Gros of both Armies met. The *Barbarians*, on one side, charged their long Pikes, and with Shields lock'd close together like a Roof over head, strove what in them lay to preserve their *Battalion* entire: The *Romans*, on the other side, threw by their Piles, and with drawn Swords put by their Pushes, the sooner to mingle with them, in the rage they were then in: For in the Front of the Enemy they beheld fifteen thousand Slaves, whom the Royal * Commanders had set free by Proclamation, and rang'd amongst the *Men of Arms*. Whereupon a *Roman* Centurion is reported to say, That he never knew Servants allowed to play the Masters, unless on the Holy-days of Sa-

* The Commanders of King Mithridates,

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turn.

turn. These Men, by reason of their deep and thick Array, as well as for their daring Courage, yielded but slowly to the weighty Legions, till at last by slinging Engines and Darts, for which the *Roman* spar'd not from behind, they were forc'd to give way and scatter. And as *Archelaus* was extending the the Right Wing to encompass the Enemy, *Hortensius* with his *Cohorts* came down amain, with intention to charge him in the Flank; but *Achelaus* wheeling about suddenly, with two thousand Horse, *Hortensius*, overlaid with numbers, withdrew himself to the upper Grounds, not far from the main Body, and was surrounded by the Enemy: When *Sylla* heard this, he came speeding from the right to his succour, before the Engagement; but *Archelaus* guessing the matter by the dust of his Troops, turned to the right Wing, from whence *Sylla* came, in hopes to have surpris'd it without a Commander: At the same instant likewise *Taxilles* with his Brass-Targetiers assailed *Muraena*, so as a Cry coming from both places, and the Hills repeating it around, *Sylla* stood in suspense which way to move; it seeming best to reassume his own Station, he sent in aid to *Muraena* four Cohorts, and commanding the fifth to follow him, returned on the spur to the right Wing, which then of
it

it self held *Archelaus* to equal play; at his appearance they gave one lusty push for all, and overcoming, followed them disorderly flying to the River and Mount *Acontium*. Neither was *Sylla* unmindful of the danger *Muraena* was in; for hasting thither, and finding them Victorious, he help'd to pursue. Many *Barbarians* were slain on the spot, many more cut in pieces, as they were making to the Camp: Of such infinite Multitudes, ten thousand only got safe into *Chalcis*. *Sylla* writes, that there were but fourteen of his Soldiers wanting, and that two even of those returned towards evening; wherefore he inscribed on *Trophies*, *Mars*, *Victory*, and *Venus*, as having won the Day no less by Good-fortune, than by true management and force of Arms. That *Trophie* of the Field-Battel stands on the Place where *Archelaus* first gave back, as far as the Streums of *Molus*: The other is erected high, on the top of *Thurium*, where the *Barbarians* were environ'd signifying in Greek Letters, That *Homoloichus* and *Anaxidamus* were the Chief Leaders. The Hymns of Victory for this Action were celebrated at *Thebes*, where *Sylla* built a Stage for Musick, near *Oedipus's* Well. As for the Judges of the Performance, they were *Grecians* chosen out of other Cities, because he bore an implacable hatred to the *Thebans*, and

having cut off from them half their Territories, he consecrated the same to *Apollo* and *Jupiter*, commanding them, out of the Revenue, to make satisfaction to the Gods, for the Riches himself had taken from them.

After this, hearing that *Flaccus* a Man of the contrary Faction, being chosen Consul, had crossed the *Ionian* Sea with an Army, to act in shew against *Mithridates*, but in reality against himself, he took the way of *Thessalia*, designing to meet him; but in his March, about *Meleteia*, received Advises from all Parts, That the Countreys on his back were over spread and harraßed by no less a Camp-Royal than was the former: For *Dorilaus* arriving at *Chalcis*, with a mighty Fleet (on board of which he brought over with him Eighty Thousand of the best-appointed and best disciplin'd Soldiers of *Mithridates* his Army) had made a sudden Incursion into *Bæotia*, and secured that Coast, in hopes to bring *Sylla* to a Battel, making no account of the disswasions of *Archelaus*, but giving it out, as to the last Fight, that without Treachery so many Thousand Men could never have perished. However, *Sylla* facing about expeditiously, made it appear to *Dorilaus*, that *Archelaus* was a wise Man, and had good skill in the *Roman* Valour; insomuch
as

as *Dorilaus* himself, after some small Skirmishes with *Sylla* at *Tilphossion*, was the first of those who thought it not advisable to put things to the decision of the Sword, but rather by expence of Time and Treasure to wear out the War; nevertheless the Field of *Orchomenos*, where they then lay encamped, gave no small encouragement to *Archelaus*, as being most advantageous to those who excel in Cavalry to engage in. For of the *Bæotian* Campagnes, that is the fairest and largest, which confining on the Principal Seat of the *Orchomenians*, alone opens a clear Prospect, void of Cover as far as the Fens, where the River *Melas* is swallowed up. Of all the *Grecians* Rivers, this only, which ariseth from under the City *Orchomenus*, draws with it a deep and navigable Water from the very Head, encreasing about the Summer Solstice like *Nile*, and bringing forth all things growing there; yet small, and without Fruit. It runs not far, before the main Stream loseth it self among the blind and woody Marsh Grounds, a small Branch whereof mingleth with *Cephisus*, about that place especially where the Lake is thought to produce the best Flute-reeds.

Now that both Armies were posted near each other, *Archelaus* lay still, but *Sylla* fell to casting up Ditches athwart from either

side, that, if possible, by cutting the Enemies from the firm and open Champagne, he might force them into the Fens. They on the other hand, not enduring this, but at the Word of Command, issuing out furiously in full Bodies, not only the Men at work were dispersed, but most part of those who stood in Arms to justify the Work, cast themselves disorderly into flight. Upon this *Sylla* leaps from his Horse, and snatching hold of an Ensign, rusht through the midst of the Rout upon the Enemy, crying out aloud, *To me, O Romans, it seems glorious to fall here: And as for you, when demanded where was it, you betrayed your General, remember you say, at Orchomenus.* His men Rallying again at these words, and two Cohorts coming to his succour from the Right-Wing, he gave a fierce Onset and turn'd the Day. Then retiring some few Paces back, and refreshing his Men, he came on again to block up the Enemies Camp, but they again sallied out in better Order than before. Here *Diogenes*, Son in-law to *Archelaus*, having fought on the Right-Wing with much Gallantry, made an Honourable end. And the Archers, being pressed on hard by the *Romans*, and wanting space for a retreat, took their Arrows by handfuls, and striking with those as with Swords, beat them back. In the

the end they were all shut up into the entrenchment, and had a sorrowful Night of it, by reason of their slain and wounded. The next day again *Sylla* leading forth his men up to their Quarters, went on finishing the Line, and as they were drawing out to give him Battel, fell on, and putting a large Party of them to the rout, in the fright they were in, none daring to abide, he took the Camp by force, whence the Marishes were filled with Bloud, and the Lake with dead Bodies, insomuch as to this day there be found, of the *Barbarian* make, many Bows, Helmets, pieces of Breast-plates, and Swords, buried deep in Mud, some two hundred years since the Fight. Thus much of the Action, of *Chæroneæ* and *Orchomenus*.

Cinna and *Narbo* at *Rome*, using injustice and violence towards Persons of the greatest Eminency, many of them to avoid that Tyranny, repaired to *Sylla's* Camp, as to a safe Harbour, where in a short space he had about him the Majestick face of a Senate. *Metella* likewise having with difficulty conveyed her self and Children away by stealth, brought him word that his City and Country houses were set on fire by the Adversary, and prayed his help at home. Whilst he was in doubt what to do, being impatient to hear his Country abused,

and not knowing how to leave so great a work, as the *Mithridatick*-War unfinished, comes unto him *Archelaus*, a Merchant of *Delos*, with some hopes of an accommodation, and private instructions from *Archelaus* the King's General. *Sylla* lik'd the business so well as to desire a speedy conference with *Archelaus* in Person, and had a meeting at Sea on that side of *Delos*, where the Temple of *Apollo* stands. When *Archelaus* began to propose and demand of *Sylla*, that quitting his Pretensions to *Asia* and *Pontus*, he should set sail for the War in *Rome*, receiving Money and Shipping, and such Forces as he should think fitting, from the King: *Sylla* interposing, bad him take no further care for *Mithridates*, but assume the Crown to himself, and become a Confederate of *Rome*, delivering up the Navy. Here *Archelaus* professing his abhorrence of Treason, *Sylla* proceeded: *Thou, O Archelaus, Cappadocian as thou art, and Slave (on, if it so please thee, Friend) to a Barbarian King, dost thou upon such vast Considerations scruple any thing of Baseness? and to me Roman General and Sylla dar'st talk of Treason? as if thou wert not the self same Archelaus who ran away at Chæronea, with a few in Company, the Reliques of One hundred and twenty thousand Men; who lay squat for two days in the Fens of Orchomenus, and left*
Bæotia

Bæotia unpassable for heaps of dead Carcases. Archelaus, chang'd at this, in humble manner fell at his Feet, beseeching him to lay aside the thoughts of War, and make Peace with Mithridates. Sylla consenting to this Request, Articles of Agreement were concluded on; That Mithridates should quit Asia and Paphlagonia, restore Bithynia to Nicomedes, Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, and pay the Romans two Thousand Talents, and give him seventy Ships of War, with all their Furniture: On the other hand, That Sylla should confirm to him his other Dominions, and declare him a Roman-Confederate. On these terms he returned by the way of Thessaly and Macedonia for the Helespont, having Archelaus with him in great esteem. For Archelaus being taken desperately ill at Larissa, he staid the March of the Army, and took care of him, as one of his own Captains, or Joynt Comander in Chieft. This gave suspicion of foul play in the Busineis of Chæronea, as well as because Sylla had discharged all the Friends of Mithridates, taken Prisoners in War, save only Aristion the Tyrant, whom disaffected to Archelaus, he made away by Poison; but more especially the ten Thousand Acres of Bæotian Land, given to a Cappadocian, and him styled by Sylla, Friend and Allie of the Ro-

mans. For all which, *Sylla* apologizeth in his Memoirs.

The Embassadors of *Mithridates* arriving, and withal declaring, That they accepted of the Conditions, only *Paphlagonia* they could not part with, and as for the Ships, they knew of no such Capitulation; *Sylla* in a rage answered, *What say you; does Mithridates then with-hold Paphlagonia? and as to the Ships, denies he that Article? Whom I thought to have seen prostrate at my foot, had I left him only that right hand of his, which cut off so many Romans. Sure he will shortly, at our coming over into Asia, speak another Language; in the mean time, let him at his ease in Pergamus, sit managing a War which he never saw.* The Embassadors out of fear stood silent by, but *Archelaus* with humble supplication asswag'd his wrath, laying gentle hold on his right hand and weeping; in the conclusion he obtained to be sent Embassador to *Mithridates*. For that he would either Mediate a Peace, to the satisfaction of *Sylla*. or, if not, slay himself. *Sylla* having thus dispatched him away, made an Inroad into *Media*, and after wide Depopulation returned back again into *Macedon*, where he received *Archelaus* about *Philippi*, bringing word that all things were well, and moreover that *Mithridates* earnestly requested

quested an interview. The chief cause of this meeting was *Fimbria*; for he having assassinated *Flaccus* the Consul, one holding of the contrary Faction, and worsted the *Mithridatick* Commanders, was advancing against *Mithridates* himself, who fearing this, chose rather to enter into Alliance with *Sylla*.

There met at *Dardanus* of *Troas*, on one side *Mithridates*, attended with two hundred Ships compleatly equipped, and of Land forces twenty thousand Men of Arms, two thousand Horse, and a large train of Sythed-Chariots: on the other, *Sylla* with only four Cohorts, and two hundred Horse. As *Mithridates* drew near and put out his hand, *Sylla* demanded, Whether he was willing or no to end the War on what *Archelaus* had agreed to: but seeing the King made no answer, *Why then* (said he) *it becometh the distressed to speak first, and as for the Conquerors it is sufficient to give audience.* And when *Mithridates*, entering upon his Plea, began slyly to shift off the War, partly on the Gods, and partly to blame the *Romans* themselves, he took him up, saying, That he had heard indeed long since from others, and now knew it himself for truth, that *Mithridates* was a powerful speaker, who to set off such foul and unjust practices, wanted not for handsome pretences.

ces. Then charging him with, and inveighing bitterly against outrages by him committed, he askt again, Whether he was willing or no, to ratifie the Treaty of *Archelaus*? *Mithridates* answering in the affirmative, *Sylla* ran into and embracing kissed him. Not long after he introduced *Ariobarzanes* and *Nicomedes*, the two Kings, and made them all Friends. Wherefore *Mithridates*, when he had furnisht *Sylla* with seventy Ships, and 500 Archers, set sail for *Pontus*.

Sylla perceiving the Soldiers to be dissatisfied with the Peace, for the most pernicious of Kings, and one who had caused one hundred and fifty thousand *Romans* to be massacred in one day throughout *Asia*; they thought it a heinous thing to behold him sailing out with the Riches and Spoils of *Asia*, which he had pillaged, and put under contribution for the space of four years;) alledged, that he was not able to have made head against *Fimbria* and *Mithridates*, had they both withstood him in Conjunction. Thence he arose and went in search of *Fimbria*, who lay with the Army about *Thiatira*, and pitching hard by, began to fortifie himself with a Trench. The Soldiers of *Fimbria* came out in their single Coats, and saluting his men, lent ready assistance to the work, which change
Fim-

Fimbria beholding, and withal apprehending *Sylla* as irreconcilable, laid violent hands on himself in the Camp.

Sylla impos'd on *Asia* in general a Tax of twenty thousand Talents, and particularly wasted each Family by the licentious behaviour, and long residence of the Souldiery in private Quarters. For he ordained, that every Host should allow himself four Tetradrachma's each day, and moreover entertain him, and as many Friends as he should invite, with a Supper; that a Centurion should receive fifty Drachma's a day, together with one Sute of Clothes to wear within doors, and another when he went abroad.

Having put off from *Ephesus* with the whole Navy, he came the third day to Anchor in the *Pirean* Haven. Here he was initiated in the Mysteries of the Goddess *Ceres*, and seizing to his use the Library of *Apellicon* a *Teian*, in which were most of *Theophrastus* and *Aristotle's* Works, then unknown to most, he transported the same to *Rome*. It's said, That *Turannion* the Grammarian made his Collection chiefly from hence, and that *Andronicus* the *Rhodian* having through his means the Command of divers Copies, put out those Heads of Treatises which be common now in every Mans hands, under the Title of *Tables*.

The

The ancient *Peripateticks* were of themselves indeed Men of Polite and Universal Learning; but of all the Writings of *Aristotle* and *Theophrastus*, they had no exact knowledge; because *Theophrastus* bequeathing his Study to the Heir of *Neleus Sceptius*, these happ'ned to fall into rude and illiterate Hands.

During *Sylla's* stays about *Athens*, there fell into his Feet a lumpish benumbing Pain, which *Strabo* calls, *the first fettering on of the Gout*. Wherefore taking a Voyage to *Adipfus*, he made use of the Hot Waters there, easing his thoughts of Care likewise, and merrily passing away the time with Drolls. As he was walking along the Seashore, certain Fishermen brought him a lovely Present of Fish. Being taken therewith, and understanding that they were Men of *Alææ*, What, said he, be there any of *Alææ* surviving? (For having won the Field at *Archoménus*, in the heat of a Pursuit he had destroyed three Cities of *Bæotia*, *Anthedon*, *Larymna*, and *Alææ*.) The Men knowing not what to say for fear, *Sylla* with a smiling Countenance bad them cheer up and return in peace, as who had brought with them no small or contemptible Intercessors. The *Alæi* from hence took Courage, and embodying, re-entred the City.

Sylla

Sylla having march'd through *Theffaly*, and *Mecedon*, down to the Sea-coast, prepared with twelve hundred Vessels to cross over from *Dyrrachium* to *Brundisium*. Not far from hence is *Appollonia*, and near it a spot of Ground dedicated to the *Nymphes*, which from among flowry Dales and Meads discovers here and there springs of Fire continually streaming out. Here, they say, was a Satyr, such as Statuaries and Painters represent, found sleeping, and brought before *Sylla*, where he was ask'd by several Interpreters who he was, when with much ado he sent forth a harsh unintelligible Noise, like the Neighing of a Horse, and crying of a Goat, in mixt Consort: *Sylla* dismay'd at it, turned aside in detestation.

At the point of Transportation, because *Sylla* was concerned, lest at the first setting foot upon *Italy*, the Army should dissolve of it self one by one among the Cities, they of their own accord first took an Oath to stand firm by him, and with good-will not to injure *Italy*; then seeing him straitned for a round summ of Money, they readily offered their assistance, and contributed each Man according to his Ability. However *Sylla* would not accept of the Benevolence, but praising their Good-will, and withall rowzing up their Courage, he put over (as himself writes) against fifteen

teen Commanders, with four hundred and fifty Cohorts under them.

The happy success of Affairs was plainly foretold him by the Divine Power; for as he was sacrificing at his first landing about *Tarentum*, the Liver seemed to have on it the figure of a Crown of Laurel, with two Labels pendant. And a little while before his arrival, in *Campania*, about the Mountain *Hephæus*, two stately Goats were seen, in a Rencounter by day, performing like Men in a Battel. This Apparition rising up gradually from the ground, dispersed several through the Heavens, like to fancied Representations in the Clouds, and so vanish'd out of sight. Not long after, in the self-same place, when *Martius* the younger, and *Norbanus* the Consul attack'd him with two great Armies, without prescribing the Order of Battle, or ranging his Men according to their Divisions, by the sway only of one common Alacrity and Transport of Courage, he overturn'd the Enemy, and shut up *Norbanus* into the City of *Capua*, with the loss of seven thousand of his Men. This was the reason, says he, that the Soldiers disbanded not throughout the Towns, but stuck close together, and despised the Enemy, though infinitely more in number.

At

At *Silvium* (as he himself relates it) there met him a Servant of *Pontius*, an *Enthusiast*, saying, That he brought him the power of the Sword and Victory from *Bellona*, the Goddess of War ; and if he hastened not, that the Capitol would be burnt ; which fell out on the same day the Man foretold it, namely on the sixth day of the Month *Quintilis*, which we now call *July*.

Moreover, at *Fidentia*, *Marcus Lucullus*, one of *Sylla's* Commanders, reposed such confidence in the sprightly forwardness of the Soldiers, as to dare to face fifty Cohorts of the Enemy, with only sixteen of his own ; but because many of them were unarmed, delayed the Onset. As he stood thus in gaze, considering with himself, a gentle gale of Wind bearing along with it from the neighbouring Meadows, an innumerable company of Flowers, threw them in scatteringly among the Army ; which falling about casually, and resting upon the Shields and Helmets, shew'd them to the Enemy as crown'd with Chaplets. Upon this being further animated, they joyned Battel, and victoriously slaying eight thousand Men, took the Camp. This *Lucullus* was Brother to that *Lucullus* who in after-times conquered *Mithridates* and *Tygranes*.

Sylla seeing himself surrounded with so many Armies, and such mighty Powers, had recourse to Art, inviting *Scipio* the other Consul to a Treaty of Peace. The Motion was willingly embrac'd, and thereupon followed several Meetings and Consultations, in all which *Sylla* interposing still matter of delay and new Pretences, in the mean while debauched *Scipio's* Men by Under-instruments of his own, who in subtil train and all the Methods of Inveigling, were as well practis'd as the General himself. For entring into the Enemies Quarters, and intermixing, they wrought off some by present Money, some by Promises, others by fair Words and Perswasions; so as in the end, when *Sylla* with twenty Cohorts drew near, they came forth to salute him, leaving *Scipio* behind them in his Tent, where he was found all alone and dismissed. Thus *Sylla* having used twenty Cohorts as Stales, to draw in forty more Cohorts of the Enemy, led them all back into the Camp. On this occasion *Carbo* was heard to say, *That having a Fox and a Lion in the Breast of Sylla to deal with, he was plagued most with the Fox.*

Some time after, at *Signium*, *Marius* the younger, with eighty five Cohorts, offered Battel to *Sylla*, who was extreemly desirous to have it decided on that very day; for

for the night before he had seen a Vision, which to his thoughts represented *Marius* the Elder, who had been long since dead, advising his Son *Marius* to beware of the following day, as of fatal consequence to him. For this reason *Sylla*, longing to come to a Battel, sent to the Camp afar off for *Dolabella*. But because the Enemy had beset and lock'd up the Passes, his Soldiers were exceedingly tired by Skirmishing and Marching at once. To these difficulties was added moreover tempestuous rainy Weather, which distressed them most of all; wherefore the Principal Leaders came to *Sylla*, and besought him to defer the day, shewing him withall how the Soldiers lay all along on the Ground, cast down with Toil, and leaning upon the Target. When with much difficulty he had yielded, and given order for the setting of the Camp, they had no sooner begun to cast up a Rampart, and draw a Ditch across, but *Marius* came riding up furiously at the Head of his Troops, in hopes to have scattered them in that disorder and confusion. Here the Gods fulfilled *Sylla's* Dream: For the Soldiers stirred up with anger, left off to work, and sticking their Piles on the Bank, with drawn Swords and a courageous Shout, came to handy blows with the Enemy, who made but small resistance, and

were miserably slain in the Flight. *Marius* fled to *Præneste*, but finding the Gates shut, tied himself round by a Rope, that was thrown down to him, and was taken up on the Walls. Some there are (as *Fenestella* for one) who affirm that *Marius* knew nothing of the Fight, but over-watch'd and spent with hard Duty, had reposed himself, when the Signal was given, beneath some Shade, and was hardly to be awakned at the Flight of his Men. *Sylla* (according to his own account) lost only three Men in this Brush, having killed of the Enemy, twenty thousand, and taken alive eight thousand.

The like Success had others of his Commanders, as *Pompey*, *Crassus*, *Metellus*, *Servilius*, who with little or no loss cut off vast numbers of the Enemy, insomuch as *Carbo*, the prime Supporter of the Cause, fled by night from his Charge of the Army, and sailed over into *Libya*.

In the last Encounter, the *Samnite* *Telefinus*, like to some Champion whose lot it is to enter last of all into the List, and take up the wearied Conqueror, came nigh to have foiled and overthrown *Sylla* before the Gates of *Rome*. For *Telefinus* with his second *Lamponius* the *Lucan*, having drawn together huge Levies of Men, made all hast toward *Præneste*, to free *Marius* from
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the Siege; but perceiving *Sylla* at the Head of him, and *Pompey* in the Tail, both making violently at him, streightned thus before and behind, he, as a valiant and expert Soldier, arose by night, and marching directly with his whole Army, had like to have fallen unexpectedly into *Rome* it self. He lay that night before the City, some ten Furlongs off from the Gate *Collatina*, all jocund and swoln with further Hopes, as having already baffled so many eminent Commanders by Stratagem: At break of day being charged by the Noble Youth of the City, among many others, he overthrew *Appius Claudius*, a Person renowned for Nobleness of Blood and Valour. The City, as it is easie to imagine, was all in an Up-roar, the Women shrieking and running about, as if he had been entred forcibly by Assault, till at last *Balbus* advanced, with seven hundred Horse. on full speed, and after some small halt made for rubbing and bridling again, fell into skirmish with the Enemy. In the mean time *Sylla* appeared, and commanding the formost to take refreshment, drew into order. *Dolabella* and *Torquatus* were extreme earnest with him to desist a while, and not with spent Forces to hazard the whole sum of Affairs, having before them in the Field not *Carbo* or *Marius*, but two warlike Nations, bearing im-

mortal hatred to *Rome*, the *Samnites* and *Lucans* to grapple with ; but he put them by, and commanded the Trumpets to sound a Charge, about four a Clock in the afternoon. In this Conflict, which was the sharpest as ever was, the Right-wing, where *Crassus* stood embattelled, had clearly the advantage ; the Left was overcharged, and in a declining condition, when *Sylla* came to its succour, mounted on a white Courser, full of mettle, and exceeding swift of foot, which two of the Enemy knowing him by, had their Lances in a readiness to cast ; but this Gentleman giving the Horse a touch, he was, unknown to himself, so far advanced, as that the Points falling beside the Horse-tail, stuck in the Ground. There goes a Story, That having a golden Image of *Apollo* from *Delphos*, he was always wont in the day of Battel to carry it about him in his Bosom, and that then he kissed it, with these words : O *Apollo Pythius*, the *Fortunate Cornelius Sylla*, whom in so many Battels thou hast raised to Honour and Greatness, wilt thou now cast down, bringing him before the Gate of his Country, to perish shamefully with his Fellow Citizens ? After he had thus addressed himself to the God, some of his Men he intreated, some he threatned, and others he laid hold on, till at length the left Wing being wholly shattered,

tered, he was forc'd in Company of the Rout to betake himself to the Camp, having lost many of his Friends and Acquaintance; many likewise of the City-spectators were trod to Death. So as Common Fame gave the City for taken, and had like to have rais'd the Siege of *Prænestæ*; many who escaped by Flight posting thither, and advising *Lucretius Offella* (who was appointed to keep on the Siege) to rise in all haste, for that *Sylla* was defeated, and *Rome* fallen into the Hands of the Enemy.

About Midnight there came into *Sylla's* Camp Messengers from *Crassus*, to fetch Provision for him and his Soldiers; for having vanquish'd the Enemy, they pursu'd him to the Walls of *Antemna*, and had sat down there. *Sylla* hearing this, and that most of the Enemy were destroyed, came to *Antemna* by break of day, where three Thousand of the Besieged having sent forth a Herald, he promis'd to receive them to Mercy, on condition they did the Enemy mischief in their coming over. Trusting to his Word, they fell foul on the rest of their Companions, and made a great Slaughter one of another; but however *Sylla* gathered together in the Cirque, as well those as others of the remaining party, to the number of seven Thousand, and as he

was speaking to the Senate in the Temple of *Bellona*, causeth them all to be slain, by Men appointed for that Service. The cry, as must needs be, of so vast a multitude put to the Sword, in so narrow a space, flying abroad and startling the Senators; he, as he was speaking, with a secure unconcern'd Countenance, bad them listen to what he had to say, and not busie themselves with what was a doing without doors; for himself had ordered the Chastisement of a few naughty People. This gave the most stupid of the *Romans* to understand, that they had made an exchange only of Tyrannical Government, not a change. *Marius*, being in himself austere, altered not, but confirmed Nature by Authority; whereas *Sylla* behaving himself moderately and prudently at first, and giving good hopes of a true Patriot, firm to the Interests both of the Nobility and Commonalty, being moreover of a gay pleasant humour from his youth, and of such a melting compassionate disposition, as to weep easily, has perhaps deservedly cast a Blemish upon the higher Offices of State, as if these put us beside our former course of Life, and were occasion of Folly, Pride, Inhumanity. This whether it be real change, and new frame of Mind, arising from Fortune, or rather a malicious sly Nature, discovering it self in

Autho.

Authority, to decide were matter of another sort of Disquisition.

Now that *Sylla* was wholly bent upon, slaughter, and filled the Town incessantly with infinite Executions, (many disinterested Persons falling a Sacrifice to private Enmity, through his permission and indulgence to a Party) *Cajus Metellus*, one of the Noble Youths, made bold in the Senate to ask him, what ends was there of those Evils, and where he intended to stop?

We pray thee not (said he) *to pardon such as thou hast resolved to destroy, but to free from doubt such as it hath pleased thee to save.*

Sylla answering, That he knew not as yet whom to spare; *Why then* (said he) *tell us whom thou wilt punish.*

This *Sylla* said he would do. Those last Words, as some Authors would have it, were spoken not by *Metellus*, but by *Offidius*, one of *Sylla's* fawning Companions. Immediately upon this, without imparting the matter to the Magistracy, *Sylla* proscrib'd eighty Persons, and notwithstanding the generality of Men stomach'd it, after one days respite he posted two hundred and twenty more, and on the third again as many. In an Harangue to the People on this occasion, he told them he had put up as many Names as he could think of; and those who had escaped his memory, he should hereafter proclaim.

claim. He publish'd an Edi&t likewise, making Death the Punishment of Humanity; to any one who should dare to receive and cherish an Outlaw, without exception to Brother, Son, or Parents. And to him who should slay any one proscribed Person, he ordained two Talents, as a Reward of Parricide, whether it were a Slave, who had beat out the Brains of his Master, or a Son his Fathers. But what was most unjust of all, he caus'd the Attainder to pass upon their Sons, and Sons Sons, and made open sale of the Goods of them all; nor reign'd the Proscription only at *Rome*, but throughout all the Cities of *Italy*, where the Effusion of Blood was such, as neither the Temples of the Gods, nor Sanctuaries, nor private Houses, escaped clear; Men were butchered in the Embraces of their Wives, Children in the Arms of their Mothers. They who fell thus through publick hatred, or private spleen, were nothing in comparison of the numbers of those who suffer'd for their Riches. The Assassin might safely say, *A fair House killed this Man, a Garden that, a third his Hot Baths.* *Quintus Aurelius*, a quiet peaceable Man, and one who thought it his Duty to bear a part in the common Calamity, so far as to condole the Misfortunes of others, coming into the *Forum*, and finding himself among those who were
set

set up, cried out, *Woe's me, my Alban, Mannor has informed against me.* He had not gone far, before he was dispatched by a Ruffian sent on that Errand.

In the mean time *Marius* on the point of being taken, killed himself. *Sylla* at his first coming to *Prænestæ*, proceeded judicially against each particular Person, till at last, finding it a Work of too much time, he cooped them up close together in one place, to the number of two and twenty thousand Men, and gave order for the Execution of them all, his Hoast only excepted; but he brave Man, scorning the Obligation of Life it self, from the Hands of one who had been the Ruine of his Country, plung'd into the Herd, and submitted willingly to the Stroke. That of *Lucius Catilina* was a rare Contrivance: For before Matters came to an issue, having made away his Brother, he beseeched *Sylla* to clap him into the List of Outlawry, as living, and was so; wherefore *Catiline*, to return the kind Office, assassinated *Marius*, one of the adverse Party, and brought the Head to *Sylla*, as he was sitting in the Court of Judicature; then going to the Holy Water of *Apollo*, which was nigh, wash'd his Hands.

There were other things beside matter of Tragedy, which gave offence: for *Sylla* had declared himself Dictator, whereas
that

that Form of Government had then been laid aside for the space of one hundred and twenty years. There was likewise an Act of Grace passed on his behalf, granting Impunity for what was past, and for the future entrusting him with the Power of the Sword, Confiscations, Trasplanting of Colonies, erecting and demolishing of Cities, taking away of Kingdoms, and bestowing them at pleasure. He managed the Sale of Confiscated Goods after such an arbitrary imperious way, seated on a Chair of State, amidst beautiful Women, Mimicks, Fiddlers, and such like rascally People, on whom he squandred away the Revenues of whole Countries and Cities, bestowing on some of them Ladies in Marriage against their will; so as his Gratuities were much more intolerable than his Usurpations. Having a mind to assure *Pompey* the Great by a nearer Tie of Bloud, he commanded him to make void the Nuptial Bed; and forcing *Æmilia* (the Daughter of *Scaurus* and *Metella*, his own Wite) from *Marcius Glabrio*, he bestowed her, great with Child, on him; but she died in Labour at *Pompey's* House.

When *Lucretius Offella*, the same who reduced *Marius* by Siege, put in and push'd his Fortune hard for the Consulship, he first forbad him; then seeing he could not restrain

strain him from coming down into the *Forum*, with a numerous Train of followers, he commanded a Centurion of the Guards out and slew him, himself sitting on the Bench in the Temple of *Castor*, and beholding the Murder from above. The Citizens apprehending the Centurion, and dragging him to the Tribunal, he bad them cease tumultuous clamouring, and let go the Centurion, for he had commanded it.

His Triumph, tho' of it self exceeding stately, and set off with the unusual Pomp, and Magnificence of Royal Spoils, was yet further illustrated, and drew after it a goodly Spectacle, *the Exiles*. For in the Rear followed the most eminent and most potent of the Citizens, Crowned with Garlands, and calling *Sylla, Saviour and Father*, by whose means they were restored to their own Country, and again enjoyed their Wives and Children. When the Solemnity was over, and the time come to render an Account of his Actions, in a Publick Assembly, he was as punctual in innumera-ting the lucky hits of War, as any of his own Military Vertues. And from his *Fælicity* it was, that he made choice to be Surnamed *Felix*. In his Addresses and Answers to the *Græcians*, he styled himself, *Epaphroditus*, or *Beloved of Venus*.

His

His Trophies which are still extant with us, bear this Inscription, *Lucius Cornelius Sylla Epaphroditus*. Moreover when his Wife had brought him forth twins, he named the Male *Faustus*, and the Female *Fausta*; by which words the Romans understand *Success* and *Good Omen*. The Confidence which he reposed in his good *Genius*, rather than in any Abilities of his own, emboldened him, though deeply engaged in Blood, after such great Changes and Revolutions of State, to lay down his Authority, and settle the Right of Consular Elections once more on the People. So that he not only came abroad, but on the *Forum* exposed his Person publickly to the People, walking up and down as a private Man. And whereas, contrary to his will, a certain bold Man, and his Enemy, *Marcus Lepidus*, was in Election to be Consul, not by his own Interest, but by the Power and Solicitation of *Pompey*, who was extream gracious with the People; when the business was over, seeing *Pompey* going home overjoyed with the Success, he called him to him, and said, *Was it not politickly done of you, Young man to pass by Catulus the best of Men, and chuse Lepidus the worst? Take heed, and look to thy self, or the Adversary thou hast raised will be too hard for thee.* Sylla spoke this it may seem by Divine Instinct,

stinct, for not long after *Lepidus* grew insolent, and broke into open defiance with *Pompey*.

Sylla consecrating the Tenth of his whole Substance unto *Hercules*, entertain'd the People with sumptuous Feastings. The Provision was so much above what was necessary, as that they were forced daily to throw great quantities of it into the River, and drank Wine forty years old and upward. In the midst of the Jollity, which lasted many days, *Metella* died of a Disease. Now because that the Priest forbad him to visit the Sick, or suffer his House to be polluted with Mourning, he sent her a Bill of Divorce, and caused her to be removed into another House, whilst alive; in this he observed the Law to a Tittle, out of Religious Superstition; but as for the Retrenching Act which himself made, himself break it, sparing for no Funeral Cost. He transgressed likewise for his own Sumptuary Laws, thinking to allay his Grief by excessive Drinking and Revelling.

Some few Months after, at a Prize of Gladiators, when Men and Women sat promiscuously in the Theatre, no distinct Places being as yet appointed, there sat by *Sylla* a beautiful Lady of high Birth, by name *Valeria*, Daughter of *Messala*, and Sister to *Hortensius* the Orator. Now it hapned

happened that she had been lately divorced from her Husband. The same came gently behind *Sylla*, and putting out her Hand, plucked a lock of his Garment, and then passed on to her Seat again. *Sylla* looking on and wondring what it should mean; *No harm, Mighty Sir,* (said she) *for that I also was desirous to partake a little of your Felicity.* It appeared straight that *Sylla* was well pleased, and even tickled with the Fancy; for he sent to enquire her Name, her Quality, and Behaviour of Life. From this time there passed between them many an amorous Glance, both of them at once oftentimes turning one on another, and interchanging Smiles. In the end Overtures were made, and a Match concluded on. All which was innocent perhaps on the Ladies sides; but though the Lady was never so modest and Vertuous, it was no such modest and seemly beginning of Love in *Sylla*, to take fire, as became Youth rather, at a Face, and buxom Humour, those common Incentives to the most disorderly and shameless Passions.

Notwithstanding this Marriage, he kept company with Actors, Actresses, and Minstrels, drinking with them night and day. His chief Favourites were, *Roscius* the Comedian, *Sorex* the Arch-Mimick, and *Metrobis* the Woman Actor, for whom, though

though past his Prime, he ever retained a profest Kindness. He fell by these Courses into a Disease, which grew so leasurely upon him, as of a long time he perceived not his Bowels to fester, till at length the corrupted Flesh broke all out into Lice. Many being employed Day and Night in destroying them, the Work so multiplied under their hands, as not only his Cloaths, Baths, Basons, but his very Meat was polluted with that Flux and Contagion, they came swarming out in such numbers. Wherefore he went often by day into the Waters, to scowr and cleanse his Body, but all in vain; the Course returned so quick, and with such numerous Supplies, as overcame all manner of Riddance. There died of the Lowfie Disease, amongst those of ancient note, *Acastus* the Son of *Pelias*; of later date, *Alcman* the Poet, *Pherecides* the Theologe, *Callisthenes* the *Olyntian* in the time of his Imprisoment, as also *Mutius* the Lawyer; and if it be fit to bring in Men of infamous Memory, *Eunus* the Fugitive, who stirred up the Slaves of *Sicily* to rebel against their Masters; after that, he was brought Captive to *Rome*, died of this creeping Sicknes.

Sylla not only foresaw his End, but also writ somewhat concerning it; for in the two and twentieth Book of his Memoirs,
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which he finished some two days before his death, he writes, That the *Chaldeans* foretold him, That after he had led a Life of Honour, he should conclude the last Act in fulness of Prosperity. He declares moreover, That in a Vision he had seen his Son, who had departed not long before *Metella*, to stand by in mournful Weeds, and beseech his Father to cast off further care, and come along with him to his Mother *Metella*, there to live at ease and quietness with her. However, he could not refrain intermeddling in Publick Affairs; for ten days before his decease, he composed the Differences of the *Puteolaxians*, and prescribed Laws for their better Government; and the very day before his End, it being told him that *Cranius* a Man in Authority, deferred the Payment of a Publick Debt, in expectation of his Death, he sent for the Man to his House, and calling his Servants about him, caused him to be strangled; but through the straining of his Voice and Body, the Imposthume breaking, he cast forth a great quantity of Bloud. Upon this his strength failing him, after a troublesome Night he died, leaving behind him two young Children by *Metella*. *Valeria* was afterwards delivered of a Daughter, named *Posthuma*; for so the *Romans* call those who be born after the Fathers Death.

Many

Many ran tumultuously together, and join'd with *Lepidus*, to deprive the Corps of the accustomed Solemnities; but *Pompey*, though offended at *Sylla*, (for he alone of all his Friends was left out of his Will) having kept off some by his Interest and Intreaty, others by Menaces, gave it a secure and honourable Burial. It's said, that the *Roman Ladies* threw on such vast heaps of Spices, as beside what was brought in one hundred and ten Vessels, sufficed to raise a large Statue for *Sylla*, and another for his Lictor, out of the precious Frankincense and Cinnamon. The day being Cloudy over head, they deferred carrying forth the Corps till about three in the Afternoon, expecting it should rain, but a strong Wind blowing full against the Funeral Pile, and setting it all on a bright Flame, his Body was consumed in a moment. As the Pile shrunk down and the Fire was upon expiring the Clouds showr'd down, and continued raining till Night; so as his good Fortune was firm even to the last, and did as it were officiate at his Funeral. His Monument stands on *Campus Martius*, with an Epitaph of his own Writing. The Substance this, *That neither Friend nor Foe had out-done him, either in good or bad turns.*

The Comparison of *Lyfander* with *Sylla*.

HAVING in like manner run through this Life, come we now to the Comparison. That which was common to them both, was, that they were Founders of their own Greatness, with this difference, that *Lyfander* had the Consent of the Citizens, in Times of right understanding, for the Honours he received; nor forc'd he any thing against their good will, or sought to raise himself above the Laws; whereas, *In Civil Broils the Slave himself gets Honour*; as then at *Rome*, when the People were distempered, and the Government out of order, one or other was still a getting uppermost; no wonder then if *Sylla* reign'd, when the *Glaucia* and *Saturnini* drove out the *Metelli*, when Sons of Consuls were slain in the Assemblies, when others for Silver and Gold bought Men and Arms, and with Fire and Sword set up new Laws, in spite of all Lawful opposition; nor do I blame any one in such Circumstances, for working himself into Supream Power; only I would not have it thought a sign of Sovereign Goodness, to be Head of a State so wretchedly discomposed. But *Lyfander* being employed in the greatest Commands
and

and Affairs of State, by a sober and well-disciplin'd City, was ever esteem'd the best and most Vertuous Man, in the best and most vertuous Commonwealth. Wherefore *Lyfander* often returning the Government into the hands of the Citizens, received it again as often; for the Excellencies of his Vertues ever held the first place. *Sylla* on the other hand, when he had once made himself of the Army, kept up his Command for ten years together, creating himself sometimes Consul, sometimes Proconsul, and sometimes Dictator, but was always a Tyrant. It's true, *Lyfander* (as was said) designed to introduce a new Form of Government, after a milder fashion however, and more agreeable to Justice, than *Sylla*; not by force of Arms, but Perswasion; nor by subverting the whole State at once, but by more orderly directing the Succession of Kings. And by Nature it seems just, that the most deserving should rule, especially in a City which it self got the leading hand of *Greece*, upon the account of Vertue not Nobility. For as the Hunter considers the Whelp it self, not the Bitch; and the Horse-courser the Foal, not the Mare, (for what if the Foal should prove a Mule?) so likewise were that Politician extreamly out, who in the Choice of a Chief Magistrate should enquire, not

what the Man is, but how descended. The very *Spartans* themselves have deposed several of their Kings, for want of Kingly Virtues, as degenerated and good for nothing. A depraved Nature, though of an ancient Stock, is dishonourable; whereas Virtue without Birth is honourable. Moreover, the one was injurious to many, upon the score of his Friends; the other to his very Friends. It's confessed on all hands, that *Lyfander* offended most commonly for the sake of his Companions, committing several Slaughters to uphold their Power and Dominion; but as for *Sylla*, he out of Envy would have discarded *Pompey* from Commanding by Land, and *Dolabella* by Sea, although himself had given them those Places; he ordered *Lucretius Offella*, who sued for the Consulship, upon divers meritorious accounts, to be slain before his Eyes, raising thereby strange Apprehensions and Jealousies in the Minds of all Men, for his Cruelty to his Dearest Friends.

The Business of Riches and Pleasure do's further yet demonstrate in one a Princely, in the other a Tyrannical Disposition. *Lyfander* did nothing that was intemperate or extravagant, in that full range of Power and Licence, but kept aloof as much as ever Man did, from that trite
Saying,

Saying, *Lion within, but Fox without*, he ever maintained such a sober, Laconick, well tempered Conversation; whereas *Sylla* could never break his unruly Affections, either by Poverty, when young, or by a long run of Years, when grown old; but would be still prescribing of Laws to the Citizens, concerning Chastity and Sobriety, himself living all that time (as *Salust* affirms) in open Lewdness and Debauchery. By these ways he had so impoverished and drained the City of her Treasures, as to be forced to sell her Liberties and Immunities to the associated and well-affected Cities for Silver, although he had daily exposed the wealthiest and greatest Families to publick Sale and Out-cry. There was no end of his Favours vainly spent and thrown away on Flatterers; for what mean, what likelihood of Parsimony in his more intimate Conversation, and Endearments over Wine, when in the open face of the People, upon Auction of a large Estate, which he would have passed over to one of his Friends at a small Price, because another bidding higher, the Officer had made Proclamation of the Advance, he broke out into a Passion, saying, *What a strange unjust thing is this, O Citizens, that I cannot dispose of my own Booty as I please?* But *Lysander*, on the contra-

ry, with the rest of the Spoil, sent even the Presents which were made him to the Citizens. Nor do I commend him for it, (for he perhaps by excessive Liberality did *Sparta* more harm, than ever the other did *Rome* by Rapine) only I make it an Argument of his Contempt of Riches. They had a strange peculiar influence each Man on his own City. *Sylla*, a profuse Debauchee, brought in Sobriety however amongst the Citizens: *Lysander* again, temperate as he was, filled the Town with Luxury: So as they both were blame-worthy, the one for raising himself above his own Laws; the other for causing his Citizens to fall beneath his own Example, in that he taught *Sparta* to want those things, which himself had learnt not to want. And thus much of their Civil Administration.

As for Feats of Arms, wise Conduct, innumerable Victories, perillous Adventures, *Sylla* was beyond compare. *Lysander* indeed came off twice victorious at two Sea-fights; I shall add to that the Siege of *Athens*, a Work of greater Fame than Difficulty. For all this, the Business of *Aliartus* in *Bæotia*, altho perhaps it came about by ill Fortune, bears yet the semblance of ill Advice, when out of Ambition and Eagerness to fight, without further attending the

the Kings Forces, which were then almost at hand from *Plataea*, he unseasonably approached the Walls, and was miserably defeated by a Sally of inconsiderable Men; he received his Death-wound, not as *Cleombrotas* at *Leuctra*, resisting manfully the impression of a just Enemy; not as *Cyrus* or *Epaminondas*, pressing hard on the declining Battel, and making sure the Victory; who all of them died the Death of Kings and Generals: But he, like some Common Soldier, or one of the Forlorn Hope, cast away his Life ingloriously, giving testimony to the ancient *Spartans*, that they did well to avoid storming of Walls, in which the stoutest Man may chance to fall by the Hand not only of an abject Fellow, but by that of a Boy or Woman, as they say, *Achilles* was slain by *Paris* in the Gates. As for *Sylla*, it was somewhat hard to reckon up how many set Battels he won, or how many thousands he slew: He took *Rome* it self twice, and forc'd the *Pyraean* Haven, not by Famine, as *Lysander* did, but by several sharp Encounters, driving out *Archelaus* from Land to Sea. And what most importeth, there was a vast difference between the Commanders they they had to deal with; for I look upon it as an easie Task, or rather Sport, that same Overthrow of

Anti-

Antiochus, Alcibiades his Pilot, as likewise the Circumventing of *Philocles* the *Athenian* Orator, Sharp only at *inglorious point of Tongue*: both whom *Mithridates* would have scorned to compare with the Master of his Horse, or *Marius* with his Lictor. But of all the Grandees, Consuls, Commanders, and Dæmagogues, to pass by others who opposed themselves to *Sylla*; who amongst the *Romans* so formidable as *Marius*? What King more powerfull than *Mithridates*? Who of the *Italians* sturdier than *Lamponius* and *Telestinus*? Yet of these, one he drove into Banishment, one he quelled, and the others he slew. Now the greatest of all, which has been as yet related, in my judgment, was, That *Lysander* had the Assistance of the State in all his Atchievements; whereas *Sylla*, besides that he was a Banish'd Person, and sorely overcharged by a Faction, at what time his Wife was driven from home, his Houses demolished, and Adherents slain, himself: then in *Bæotia* stood Embattell'd against infinite Numbers of the Enemy, and adventuring all for the sake of his Country, erected a Trophie: Nor, when *Mithridates* came with Proposals of Alliance and Aid against his Enemies, would he shew any the least Compliance, or so much as Civil Respect, either by greeting or vouchsafing him his Hand,

Hand, till such time that he had it from the Kings own Mouth, that he was willing to quit *Asia*, surrender the Navy, and restore *Bithynia* and *Cappadocia* to the two Kings; than which Action, *Sylla* never performed a braver, or with a Nobler Courage, when preferring the Publick Good to the Private, and, like a generous Dog, where he had once fix'd, never letting go his hold, till he had conquered the Enemy, he then set himself to revenge his own private Quarrels. We may perhaps make a better estimate of their Manners, by weighing both their *Athenian* Actions in the Ballance. *Sylla*, when he had made himself Master of that City, which had upheld the Dominion and Power of *Mithridates*, in opposition to him restored her to Liberty. and the free Exercise of her own Laws. *Lyfander*, on the contrary, when she had fell from such a vast height of Dignity and Rule, unmercifully took away the Democracy, imposing on her the most Cruel and Lawless Tyrants. It's now time to consider, whether we should swerve from the Truth or no, by declaring, that *Sylla* performed the more Glorious Deeds, but *Lyfander* committed the fewer Faults; as likewise by giving to one the Preheminence for Moderation and Abstinence, to the other for Conduct and Valour.

THE

THE
LIFE
OF
CIMON.

Englified from the Greek,
By *Mat. Morgan, A.M. of St. John's*
College in Oxford.

VOLUME III.

P*Eripoltas* the Diviner having brought the King *Opheltas* and those under his Command from *Thessaly* into *Bæotia*, left there a Family which flourish'd a long time after; the greatest part of them inhabited *Chæroneæ*, the first City out of which they expelled the *Barbarians*. The Descendants of this Race, being men of bold Attempts, exposed themselves to so many Dangers,

CIMON.



MB. sculp.

This was the valiant and obliging Greeke
 Who Conquer'd when he acted or did speake;
 His Courage and his Courtesy were greate
 The haughty Persian bravely did defeate;
 Gott in one day a double Victory
 And so he Triumpl'd o'er earth and Sea;



Dangers in the Incursions the *Medes* made upon them, and in Exploits against the *Gauls*, that at last they were almost wholly consumed.

There was left one Orphan of this House, called *Damon*, surnamed *Peripoltas*, for Beauty and greatness of Spirit surpassing all of his Age; but of Temper fierce and untractable. A *Roman* Captain of a Foot-Company that Wintered in *Chæroneæ*, fell in love with this Youth; but since he could not obtain his infamous Desires, either by Gifts or Entreaties, 'twas much feared that he would proceed to Violence. The Suspicion was made more probable by the condition of *Chæroneæ*, which was then so weak, that it had not power either to prevent the Attempt, or punish the Commission of the Crime. Of which *Damon* being sensible, and looking upon his Sollicitations as Injuries, resolved to be revenged of him: Accordingly he and sixteen of his Companions, conspired against the Captain; but that the Design might be managed without any danger of being discovered, they all daubed their Faces with Soot. Thus disguised, and inflamed with Wine, they set upon him by break of day, as he was sacrificing; and having killed him, and not a few of those that were with them, they fled out of the City; which

which was extremely alarmed and troubled at the Murder: The Council Assembled immediately, and pronounced Sentence of Death against *Damon* and all his Accomplices. This they did to justify the City to the *Romans*. But, that evening, as the Magistrates were at Supper together, according to Custom, *Damon* and his Confederates breaking into the Room, killed them all, and then again fled out of the Town. About this time, *Lucius Lucullus* passing that way with his Forces upon some Expedition, and this disaster having but newly hapned, he staid to examine the matter. Upon enquiry he found the City was in no wise faulty, but rather that they themselves had suffered; therefore he drew out the Soldiers, and carried them away with him. Yet *Damon* continuing to ravage the Country all about, the Citizens by Messages, and Decrees in appearance favourable, enticed him into the City, and upon his return made him *Gymnasiarque*; but afterward as he was suppling himself with Oyl in the *Baigno*, they set upon him and kill'd him. For a long while after Apparitions being seen, and lamentable Groans heard in that place, (as our Fathers have told us,) they ordered the Gates of the *Baigno* to be made up: and even to this day those who dwell about that

that place affirm that they sometimes see Spectres, and hear terrible Voices. The posterity of *Damon* (of which some remain in the Country of *Phocide*, near the City *Stiris*, living after the manner of the *Æolians*) are called *Asbolomēnoi*, that is, Men dawbed with Soot. Because with that *Damon* was besmeared when he committed this Murther.

But there being a Quarrel betwixt those of *Chæronea* and the *Orchomeniens*, who bordered upon them; they hired an Informer, a *Roman*, to excuse the Community of *Chæronea*, as if it had been a single Person, of the Murther of the *Romans*, of which only *Damon* and his *Ruffians* were guilty; accordingly the process was formed, and the cause pleaded before the Pretor of *Macedon*, for as yet, the *Romans* had not sent Governours into *Greece*.

The Advocates who defended the Inhabitants, appealed to the Testimony of *Lucullus*, who in answer to a Letter the Pretor writ to him, returned a true account of the matter of Fact. By this means the Town gain'd their Cause, which otherwise they were in great danger of losing. The Citizens thus preserved, erected a Statue to *Lucullus* in the *Forum*, next to that of the God *Bacchus*.

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We also have the same Impressions of Gratitude; and tho removed from them by the distance of so many Ages, yet we think our selves obliged by that Act. And as to draw the Genius and Noble Inclinations of a great Personage, is harder, and so more valuable, than to hit the Lines of his Face; we will put *Lucullus* his Life amongst our Parallels of Illustrious Men. Wherein we will not use one stroke of Flattery, but keep close to the Truth. It is sufficient we shew how we preserve a grateful Remembrance of his generous Kindness; and he himself would not expect, that in recompence of that Service, which consisted in speaking the Truth, we should abuse his Memory with a false and counterfeit Narration. For as we would, that a Painter who is to draw a beautifull Face, in which there is yet some Imperfection, should neither wholly leave out, nor entirely expresse what is defective, because this would deform it, and that spoil the Resemblance; so since it is very hard, nay almost impossible, to shew the Life of a Man wholly free from Blemish, let us in the same manner follow Truth: But if any Lapses occur, which have been occasioned by the Emotions of a sudden Passion, or the necessity of the Times, let us look upon them rather

ther as Defects of Vertue, than as Vices ; let us carry the Pencil gently over them, out of respect to Humane Nature, which never furnished any Man with so many good Inclinations to Vertue , but that there was somewhat still wanting which rendred him Imperfect. Considering with my self to whom I should compare *Lucullus*, I find none so exactly his Parrallel as *Cimon*.

They were both valiant in War, and successful against the *Barbarians*, but affable and courteous to their Fellow-Citizens: Both extinguished the Civil Broils at home, and gained signal Victories abroad. In short, no *Greek* before *Cimon*, nor *Roman* before *Lucullus*, ever carried the Scene of War so far from their own Country, unless we except the Exploits of *Bacchus* and *Hercules*, those of *Perseus* against the *Æthiopians*, *Medes*, and *Armenians*, and the Acts of *Jason*, (if of these any Monuments that deserve Credit are derived down to our days.) Moreover in this they were alike, that they finished not the Enterprises they undertook: They brought their Enemies near their Ruin, but never entirely defeated them. There was yet a greater Conformity in their Nature, for the Civility and generous Reception they shewed to all Strangers, and the splended Provisions of
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their Tables. But we will omit those other good qualities, in which they were alike, for 'twill be easie to observe them in the following Relation.

Cimon was the Son of *Miltiades* and *Hegeſipyle*, who was by Birth a *Thracian*, and Daughter to the King *Olorus*; this appears from the Poems of *Melanthius* and *Archelaus*, which they both write in praise of *Cimon*. By this means the Historian *Thucydides* was his Kinsman by the Mother's ſide; for his Father's name alſo was *Olorus*, and poſſeſſed Mines of Gold in *Thrace*, and was killed in *Scaptahyla*, a Diſtrict of *Thrace*, ſo called from its being full of Ditches. His bones were afterward brought into *Attica*, and his Monument is ſhown amongſt thoſe of the Houſe of *Cimon*, near the Tomb of *Elpinice* *Cimon's* Siſter. But *Thucydides* was of the Tribe of *Alimus*, and *Miltiades* of that of *Lacia*. *Miltiades* being condemned in a Fine of fifty Talents to the State, and unable to pay it, was caſt into Priſon, and there died. Thus *Cimon* was left an Orphan very young, with his Siſter *Elpinice*, who was alſo young and unmarried. At firſt he had no Reputation, being looked upon Riotous, and one who lived a diſſolute Life, as in reality he did, therefore they ſaid, there was
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an Agreement of Temper, as well as Appellation, betwixt him and his Grandfather, whose name was *Cimon* too; but they Proverbially called him, for his Stupidity, *Coalemos* (the Ideot) *Stesimbrotus* of *Thassus*; who lived near about the same time with *Cimon*, reports of him; that he had little docility; that they could never teach him Musick, nor the Rudiments of any other Science, which were so easily learned by the young Gentlemen of *Athens*: That he wanted a Vivacity of Parts requisite for Conversation, was ungentile in his Carriage; neither had he any Capacity to manage serious Affairs: However, that there appeared in him something that was great; and that he had such a plain openness of Humour, that you would have taken him, rather for a Native of *Peloponnesus* than *Athens*. He being such an one, as *Æuripides* describes *Hercules*.

*Accomplishment of Carriage he did want,
But he was honest, tho not Elegant.*

For this Character may well agree with that which *Stesimbrotus* had given of him. They accused him in his younger years, that he incestuously caressed his own Sister *Elpinice*, who otherwise had no very great

Reputation for Chastity: However, if her Brother was not her Gallant, 'twas reported that *Polynorus* was. For when he painted the *Trojan Dames* in the Porch, then called *Plesinaction*, now *Pæcile*, he drew *Laodice* by her Face. He was not an ordinary *Mechanick*, to be payed for his Work: But studying all ways to please the *Athenians*, he bestowed it freely on the Publick. This all the Historians report of him; and the Poet *Malanthius* particularly in these Verses.

*This famous Painter at his own Expence,
Gave Athens Beauty and Magnificence:
New Life to all the Heroes did impart;
Embellish'd all the Temples with his Art:
The Splendour of the State restor'd again:
And so he did oblige both Gods and Men.*

Some do affirm that *Elpinice* did not dissemble her Familiarities with her Brother: But lived publickly with him, as if she had been his Wife: For though she was no Fortune, yet he could meet with none, that was an equal Match for her, by reason of the Quality of her Birth. But afterward, when *Callias*, one of the richest Men of *Athens* fell in Love with her, and proffered to pay the Mulett the Father was condemned in, if he could obtain the Daughter in Mar-

Marrriage: *Cimon* accepted the Condition, and betrothed her to *Callias*. There is no doubt to be made, but that *Cimon* was of an amorous Complexion. For *Melanthius* gives him hints of his Tendency that way, when in his Eulogies he facetiously rallies him for his Mistresses: The one was called *Mnestra*, and the other was *Aristeria* of *Salamis*; and these the Poet saith, he was very fond of. However this is certain, that he loved his Wife *Ifodice* very passionately; she was the Daughter of *Euryptolemus* the Son of *Megacles*. Her death he regretted even to impatience, as appears by those Elegies of Condolance, addressed to him upon his loss of Her. The Philosopher *Panætius* is of Opinion, that *Arche-laüs* was the Author of those Elegies; and indeed the time seems to favour that Conjecture. But take *Cimon* in all his other Capacities, you shall find nothing in him that is justly blameable, but rather all the Customs of his Life were very good. For as he was as daring as *Miltiades*, and not at all inferiour to *Themistocles* for Judgment, so he was incomparably more just and honest then either of them. As he was equal to them in understanding, and in discharging all the Functions of a Commander; so for the Political part of Government, he excelled them and every

one else: And this too when he was very young, his years not yet confirmed by any experience. For when *Themistocles*, upon the *Medes* threatening them with an Invasion, advised the *Athenians* to forsake their Town and the Country about it, and to carry all their Arms on Ship board, and in the *Streights* of *Salamis* dispute the Dominion of the Sea with their Enemies, When all the World stood amazed at the Confidence and Rashness of this advice; *Cimon* only was not at all surprised, but chearfully passed through the Street of *Ceramicon*, accompanied with other young Men, toward the Castle, carrying a Bridle in his hand to offer to the Goddess *Minerva*; by this intimating, that there was no more need of Horsemen now, but Mariners. Thus after he had paid his Devotions to the Goddess, and offer'd up the Bridle, he took down the Bucklers that hung upon the Walls of the Temple, and so went down to the Port. By this Example he encouraged the Citizens to follow him in order to their Embarking. Besides, he was an handsome Person, of a just Stature, his Hair thick and curled. After he had acquitted himself gallantly in this Battle of *Salamis*, he obtained a great Reputation among the *Athenians*; and they not only admired his Actions, but loved his Person.

Person. So that they were continually, enflaming him with Emulation, to perform Deeds as Famous as that of *Marathon*; that entertaining great Conceptions of things, he might act iutably thereunto. The People were very glad, when they saw him applying himself to matters of State; for they were disgusted with *Themistocles*: In opposition to whom, and because of the Candor and Freeness of *Cymon's* Temper, which was agreeable to every one, they advanced him to the highest Employments in the Government. The man that contributed most to his Promotions was *Aristides*, who still cultivated that honest Genius he saw in him: And purposely raised him, that he might be a Counterpoise to the Craft, and repress the insolence of *Themistocles*. But when the *Medes* were driven out of *Greece*, *Cimon* being Admiral, though the *Athenians* had not yet attained the Chief Dominion, but still followed *Pausanias* and the *Lacedæmonians*; he kept his Citizens in Heart, and by the Goodness of their Order and Equipage, but chiefly by their Valour, they were distinguished from the rest. Besides he perceiving, that *Pausanias* managed an intelligence with the King of *Persia*, to betray *Greece* to the *Barbarians*, and puffed up with Arrogance and Success, treated his Allies haughtily,

and committed Insolencies upon them; *Cimon* taking this advantage, robbed him of the Esteem and Command of the *Greeks*, before he was aware. This he did not by open Enmity, but by affable Discourse and the Obligingness of his Conversation. So that the *Allies* no longer able to endure the Sourness and Pride of *Pausanias*, revolted all from him to *Cimon* and *Aristides*: Who, having gain'd such a Party from him, writ to the *Ephori* of *Sparta*, and sent particular Messengers to complain of him, desiring them to recall a Man who was a dishonour to *Sparta*, and a trouble to *Greece*. They report of *Pausanias*, that when he was in *Byzantium*, he solicited a young Lady of a noble Family in the City, whose name was *Cleonice*, to debauch her: Her Parents dreading the cruel Humour of the Man, were forced to consent, and so abandon'd their Daughter to his Embraces. *Cleonice* commanded the Servants to put out all the Lights; So that approaching silently, and in the dark towards his Bed, she stumbled upon the Lamp, which she overturned and spilled: *Pausanias*, who was fallen asleep, awaked, and startled with the noise, thought an assassin had taken that dead time of the Night to murder him; so that hastily snatching up his Poinard that lay by him, he wounded his supposed Enemy to Death.

Death. After this he never enjoyed himself, but was disturbed in his Thoughts. For his Dear Mistress haunted his Bed, and would not let him Sleep, but interrupted his repose with these Angry Words.

*Villain, be just at last, and so repent;
Or see the hand that brings thy Punishment.*

This Tragical Accident gave the last stroke to his Ruin. For after this the Allies joyning their Resentments and Forces with *Cimon's*, besieged him in *Byzantium*: but he escaped out of their Hands, and fled to *Heraclea*. Here coming to a place which might be called the Oracle of the Dead, where they raise up Spirits to know future Events, he solemnly invoked *Cleonice*, and intreated her Ghost to be reconciled: Accordingly she appeared to him, and answered him in these Words. "As soon as thou comest to *Sparta* thou shalt be freed from all the Misfortunes which now afflict thee. Hereby obscurely foretelling (in my opinion) that imminent Death he was to suffer. This is the Story that is told of him.

Cimon strengthened with this accession of the Allies, went General into *Thrace*: For he was told that some great Men among
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the *Persians*, of the Kings Kindred, having possessed themselves of *Eione*, a City situated upon the River *Strymon*, infested the *Greeks* which confin'd upon them: First, he defeated these *Persians*, and shut them up within the Walls of their Town. Then he fell upon the *Thracians* themselves, who were Borderers, because they supply'd those of *Eione* with Victuals; he drove them entirely out of the Country, and took possession of it as Conqueror: By this means he reduced the Besieged to such straits, that *Butes*, who Commanded there for the King, in a desperate resolution set fire to the Town, and burned himself, his Goods, and all his Relations, in one common Flame. By this means *Cimon* got the Town, but no great Booty; for these *Barbarians* not only consumed themselves in the Fire, but the richest of their Moveables. However, the Country about it he gave the *Athenians*, which was a pleasant and fruitful Soil. For this Action the People permitted him to erect Stone *Mercuries*; upon the First of which was this Inscription.

*Those were the valiant Heros, who in Thrace
Did, Conquering the Persians, them disgrace;
By Sword and Famine made them all to die,
And unto Death, as to a refuge, fly.*

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Upon the Second was this.

*This Monument did grateful Athens raise,
To give to her Commanders lasting Praise;
That this might make her Emulous Sons con-
tend,
Encount'ring Death, their Country to defend.*

This was the Inscription of the Third.

*Since Mnestheus to Atrides Succours led,
From Athens, by whose Hands his Foes lay
dead;
And as old Homer doth report the same,
All Troy did tremble at this Warriour's
Name.
Then no one justly ought for to admire
That Athens to this Honour doth aspire:
None are so Wise and Valiant as They,
As Chiefs to Lead, as Soldiers to Obey.*

Tho' the Name of *Cimon* is not mention'd in these Inscriptions, yet his Contemporaries do assert them wholly as erected to his Honour; and being so, it was a peculiar one to him. For *Miltiades* and *Themistocles* could never obtain the like. And when *Miltiades* desired a Crown of Olive, one *Socharès*, who was of the Tribe of *Decelia*, stood up in the midst of the Assembly, and spoke

spoke these words, which being agreeable to the Populace, were applauded by them, tho unjust, and very ungratefully spoken. *When thou shalt conquer alone, (Miltiades) thou shalt triumph so too.* What then induced them so particularly to honor *Cimon*? it was certainly this, that under other Commanders they stood upon the defensive; but by his Conduct, they not only repulsed their Enemies; but invaded them in their own Country.

Thus they became Masters of *Eione* and *Amphipolis*, where they planted Colonies; and afterwards took the Isle of *Scyros*, which *Cimon* gained after this manner. The *Dolopians* were the Inhabitants of this Isle, a People of a slothful disposition, and who neglected all Husbandry, their only course of life was Piracy; this they practised to that degree of mischief, that they rifled those that brought Merchandise into their own Ports, and so violated all the Laws of Commerce. Some Merchants of *Thessaly*, they not only spoild of their goods, but confined their Persons. Who afterwards breaking out of Prison, went and demanded justice of the *Amphictyons*, which is a general Assembly made up of the People of *Greece*. These, maturely weighing the fact, condemned the Isle in a great Pecuniary Mulct; but the People that
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were enriched with the Plunder, began to apprehend that 'twas they particularly that must refund; therefore they writ to *Cimon* to succour them with his Fleet, and they declared themselves ready to deliver the Town into his hands. *Cimon* by these means got the Town, expelled those *Dolopian* Pirates, and so opened the Traffick of the *Ægean* Sea. After this, understanding that *Theseus* the Son of *Ægeus*, when he fled from *Athens*, and took refuge in this Isle, was here slain by King *Lycomedes* upon certain suspitions; *Cimon* endeavoured to find out where he was Buried: For the Oracle had commanded the *Athenians* to bring home his Ashes and to honour him as an *Hero*. *Cimon* could not for a long time learn where he was interred; for those of *Scyros* dissembled the knowledge of it, and were not willing he should search. But at length after diligent enquiry he found out the Tomb; and then carried the Reliques into his Admiral Galley, and with great Pomp and Show brought them into *Athens*, 400 years after *Theseus* first left that Country. This Act got *Cimon* the Hearts of the People, who received the Discovery with great Joy and abundance of Thanks. To signalize and perpetuate the Memory of this Deed, and their sense of it, they appointed

ted that memorable Decision of Victory betwixt the two *Tragedians*, *Æschylus* and *Sophocles*: For the latter having writ his first Play, being yet very young, the Applause of the Theatre was divided, and the Spectators sided into Parties: To determine this, *Aphepsion*, who was at that time *Archon*, would not cast Lots who should be Judges; but when *Cimon* and the other Commanders with him came into the Theatre, to see the issue of the Contention, after they had performed the usual Rites to the God of the Festival, the *Archon*, came to them, and made them swear (being ten in all) to speak their Judgments in this Contention according to Equity and Honour. And so being sworn Judges, he made them all sit down to give a decisive Sentence. The Contention for Victory grew warm, and both Sides ambitiously strove who should get the Suffrages of such honourable Judges; but the Victory was at last adjudged to *Sophocles*; which *Æschylus* took so ill, that he left *Athens*, and went to *Sicily*, where he died of discontent, and was buried near the City of *Gela*.

Ion reports, that when he was a young Man, and newly returned from *Chios* to *Athens*, he chanced to sup with *Cimon* at *Laomedon's* House: After Supper, when they

they had (according to Custom) poured out Wine to the Honour of the Gods, *Cimon* was desired by the Company to give them a Song; which he did with so good grace, that they were all charmed with his Voice, and extreamly pleased with his Humour, declaring that he was more complaisant than *Themistocles*, who being entreated upon such an occasion to play upon the Lute, answered, That he could not touch an Instrument, but give him a small Village, and he would raise it into a strong and wealthy City. After talking of many indifferent things incident to such Entertainments, they entred into the Particulars of those several Actions for which *Cimon* had been Famous. And when they had run over the most signal, he told them they had omitted one, upon which he valued himself most for Address and good contrivance. He gave this Account of it. When the *Athenians* and their Allies had taken a great number of the *Barbarians* Prisoners in *Sestos* and *Byzantium*, giving him the preference to divide the Booty, he put the naked Prisoners in one Lot, and the Spoils of their rich Attire and Jewels in the other. This the Allies complained of, as an unequal Division; therefore he gave them their choice to take which Lot they would, and the *Athenians* should be content with that

that which they refused. One *Herophytus* of *Samos* advised them to take the Ornaments for their Share, and leave the Slaves to the *Athenians*: Upon this *Cimon* was laugh'd at for his ridiculous Division: For the Allies carried away the Gold Chains and Purple Robes, and the *Athenians* had only the naked Bodies of the Captives, which they could make no advantage of, being unused to Labour. But a little while after, the Parents and Kinsmen of the Prisoners coming from *Lydia* and *Phrygia*, every one redeemed his Relations at a very high Ransom. By this means *Cimon* got so much Treasure, that he maintained his whole Fleet of Gallies with the Money for four Months; and yet there was some left to lay up in the Treasury at *Athens*. Now *Cimon* growing rich, what he gain'd from the *Barbarians* with Honour, he spent hospitably upon the Citizens. For he pull'd down all the Enclosures of his Gardens and Grounds, that all Travellers, but his Citizens especially, might gather of his Fruits freely and without danger. At home he kept a Table that was not furnished indeed with great Delicacies, but where was a Noble Competency of Provisions, and all very good, hear the poor Townsmen had a constant and easie Access, so that their Care was employed in discharging this Publick

lick duties, from which otherwise they would have been distracted by seeking after a Subsistence. But *Aristotle* reports, That he was partial in this Reception, and that it did not extend to all the *Athenians*, but only to those of the Tribe of *Lacia*. Besides, he always went attended with a Train of young Gentlemen, who were his Domesticks, and very well clad; and if he met with an elderly Citizen in a poor Habit, he would strip one of his Retinue, and cloath the decayed Citizen; and this was looked upon as very well done. He did enjoin them likewise to carry great Sums of Money about them; and if they met in the Streets any one that they either knew, or who looked as if he were in distress, they had order to relieve him, and convey something privately into his Hand. This *Cratinus* the Poet speaks of, in one of his Comedies called *Archilocha*, after this manner.

*I am Metrobius, who still believed,
Nay justly did expect, to be relieved
By such a Table Cimon once did hold
For men as poor as I, and men as Old.
Cimon of all the Grecians was the best,
Rich, Valiant, Honest, Noble to his Guest.*

Gorgias the Leontine gives him this Character, That he got Riches that he might

use them, and so used them that he got himself Credit by them. And *Critias* one of the thirty Tyrants of *Athens*,

*Did wish to be, his Fortune to Compleat,
As rich as Scopas Heirs, like Cimon Great;
And if the Gods his Life would farther bless,
He'd have in fight Agesilas's Success.*

Lichas, we know, became Famous in *Greece*, only because on the days of the Sports, when the young Lads run naked, he used to entertain the Strangers that came to see these Diversions. But *Cimon* surpassed all the ancient *Athenians* for Hospitality and good Nature: For tho those taught the rest of *Greece* to sow Corn, and the use of Fire and Water: Yet *Cimon* by keeping open House, and giving Travellers Liberty to eat all his Fruits, which the several Seasons afforded, seemed to restore to the World that Community of Goods which the Poets fabulously tell us was in the Reign of *Saturn*. Those who object to him, that he did this to be popular, and gain the applause of the Vulgar, are confuted by the constant Tenour of the rest of his Actions, which all tended to uphold the Interests of the Nobility against the Populace; of which he gave instances, when he together with *Aristides* opposed *Themistocles*, who was for advancing

advancing the Authority of the People beyond its just Limits; and down right quarrelled *Ephialtes*, who, to ingratiate himself with the Multitude, was for abolishing the Jurisdiction of the *Areopagites*. And when all of his time, except *Aristides* and *Ephialtes*, took Presents, he still kept his hands clean and untainted, and never acted nor Counsell'd any thing but what was just and innocent. They report that *Ræfaces* a *Persian*, who had Traiterously revolted from the King his Master, fled to *Athens*, and there being harass'd by Sycophants, who were still accusing him to the People, he applied himself to *Cimon*, for redress; to gain his Favour he brought him two Cups, the one full of * *Darius*es of Gold, * *Pieces of Money*, and the other of Silver: *Cimon* would not receive them, but asked him smilingly whether he would have him to be his Mercenary, or his Friend; he replied, his Friend: If so (said he) take away these pieces, for being your Friend, I presume they are at my Service, when I shall have occasion for them, and when I have I'll send to you.

The Allies of the *Athenians* began now to be very weary of the War, and were willing to have some intervals of repose, that they might look after their Husbandry and Traffick. For they saw their Enemies

driven out of the Country, and did not fear any new Incursions: Yet they still paid the Taxes they were assess'd at, but would not send men and Gallies, as they had done before. This the other *Athenian* Generals would constrain them to by rigour of process, till at last by fining them so grievously they did render the Government uneasy to them, and even odious. But *Cimon* practis'd a contrary Method, he forced no man to go that was not willing, but of those that desired to be excused from Service, he took Money, and Vessels unman'd: And permitted the men to stay at home and follow what gainful Vocations they liked best, whether of Husbandry or Merchandise. By this means they grew Luxurious, and enervated all their Courage by living at ease. But the *Athenians* he took into his Gallies, and by employing them in all his Naval expeditions, inured them to suffer Hardship: So that being severely Disciplined, and continually bearing Arms, the Allies began to dread, and then flatter them who were grown thus dreadful at their cost; till they fell to that degree of Subjection, as of Allies they almost became Tributaries and Slaves. No man ever checked the growth of the *Persians* Ambition so much as *Cimon*; for he not only beat them out of Greece, but

but closely pursuing them, would not let them take Breath, nor put their Affairs in any posture; but either took their Towns by open force, or made them revolt, by managing Intelligence within their Walls. So that in all *Asia*, even from *Ionia* to *Pamphylia* there was not one Soldier that appeared for the King of *Persia*.

When word was brought that some *Persian* Commanders were upon the Coasts of *Pamphylia* with a Land Army, and a great Fleet of Gallies; *Cimon*, that he might intercept them before they should come into the Sea that lies betwixt the *Chelidonian* Isles, set forth from *Triopium* and *Gnidos* with two hundred Gallies, very fleet, and that could easily tack about. They were first contrived and built by *Themistocles*, but *Cimon* enlarged them, that when they came to grapple, there might be a greater number of Combatants to oppose the Enemy. The first place he shaped his Course to was *Phaselis*, which tho' twas inhabited by *Greeks*, yet they would not quit the Interests of *Persia*, but denied his Gallies entrance into their Port: Whereupon he wasted the Country, and drew up his Army to their very Walls; but some Soldiers of *Chios*, which were then listed under *Cimon*, being ancient Friends to the *Phaselites*, endeavour'd to mitigate the General in their

behalf; and in the mean time shot Arrows into the Town, to which were fastened Letters of Intelligence, which gave them account of the state of Affairs: At length Peace was concluded upon these Conditions, That they should pay down ten Talents, and join their Forces with *Cimon* against the *Barbarians*. *Ephorus* saith, the Admiral of the *Persian* Fleet was *Tithraustes*, and the General of the Land Army *Pherendates*: But *Calisthenes* is positive, that *Argomandes* the Son of *Gobrias* had the supream Command of all the Forces. The whole Fleet Anchored at the Mouth of the River *Eurymedon*, but with no Design to fight, because they expected a re-inforcement of *Phœnician* Sail, which were to come from *Cyprus*; but *Cimon*, being resolved to prevent their joining, ranged his Gallies in such a posture, that if they declined fighting he might force them to it. The *Barbarians* seeing this, retired within the mouth of the River, to prevent their being attacked; but when they saw the *Athenians* come upon them notwithstanding their retreat, they met them with six hundred Sail, as *Phænodemus* relates, but according to *Ephorus* only with three hundred and fifty. Yet notwithstanding this odds of number, they did nothing worthy such mighty Forces; for they presently turned

turned the Prows of their Gallies toward the shore, where those that came first threw themselves upon Land, and fled to their Army drawn up thereabout, but the rest perish'd with their Vessels, or were taken; by this you may guess at their number; for though a great many escaped out of the Fight, and a great many others were sunk, yet two hundred Gallies were taken by the *Athenians*. When their Land-Army drew toward the Sea-side, *Cimon* was in suspense whether he should make a descent: For thereby he should expose his *Greeks*, wearied with Slaughter in the first Engagement, to the Swords of the *Barbarians*, who were all fresh Men, and Superiour to them in number: But seeing his men resolute, and flush'd with Victory, he made them land, tho they had not yet wiped off the Sweat and Bloud of the first Battel. As soon as they touched Ground, they set up a shout, and ran furiously upon the Enemy, who stood firm and sustained the first shock with great obstinacy; so that the fight began to be very doubtful; the principal men of the *Athenians* for Quality and Courage, were slain; at length, tho with much ado, they routed the *Barbarians*, some they took Prisoners, and plundered all their Tents and Pavillions, which were full of very rich Spoil. *Cimon* being thus a perfect

Conqueror, having in one day gained two Victories, wherein he surpassed that of *Salamis* by Sea, and that of *Platea* by Land, was encouraged to pursue his Success: So, that News being brought that the *Phœnician* Succours, in number eighty Sail, were at the Gulf of *Hidram*, he bended his Course toward them, and encompassed them about. They had not received any certain account of the former defeat, and now were in great doubt what to think: so that thus surprized they lost their Vessels, and all the men were either Slain or Drowned. This success of *Cimon* so daunted the King of *Persia*, that he presently made that memorable Peace, whereby he engaged that his Armies should come no nearer the *Grecian* Sea than the length of a Horse-race; And that none of his Gallies or Vessels of War should appear between the *Cyanean* and *Chelidonian* Isles. *Calisthenes* says, that he agreed not to any Articles, but that upon the fear this Victory gave him, he prudently kept off so far from *Greece*, that when *Pericles* with fifty, and *Ephialtes* with thirty Gallies, cruised beyond the *Chelidonian* Isles, they could not discover one *Persian* Sail. But in the Collection which *Craterus* made of the publick Acts of the People, there is an Original draught of this Treaty, as following upon that defeat. And
 'tis

'tis reported, that at *Athens* they erected the Altar of Peace upon this occasion; and decreed particular Honours to *Callias*, who was employed as Ambassador to manage the Treaty.

The People of *Athens* raised so much Money from the Spoils of this War, which were sold by publick Out-cry, that besides other Expences, and raising the South Wall of the Cittadel, they laid the Foundation of those Walls (afterwards finished) which they called *Skele, i e, Long Shanks*, that join the City to the Port; but the place where they built them being a Moorish Ground, they were forced to sink great Weights of Stone to secure the Foundation; and all this they did out of the Money *Cimon* supplied them with. It was he likewise that adorned *Athens* with those Publick Places of Exercise, which they afterward so much frequented and delighted in; He set the *Forum* with Plain-trees: The Academy, which was before open, and exposed to the Weather, he fenced with Trees, and beautified with Fountains; he made covered Alleys to walk in, and set out Ground for Foot and Horse-races. Afterward being informed that some *Persians*, who had made themselves Masters of the *Chersonese*, were so peremptory in not quitting it, that they called in the People
the

the higher *Thrace* to help them against *Cimon*, whom they despised for the smallness of his Forces; he set upon them with only four Gallies, and took thirteen of theirs. Then having drove out the *Persians*, and subdued the *Thracians*, he made the whole *Chersonese* subject to the Commonwealth of *Athens*. From hence he went against the People of *Thasos*, who had revolted from the *Athenians*; and having defeated them in a Fight at Sea, where he took thirty three of their Vessels, he stormed their Town, seized for the *Athenians* all the Mines of Gold on the other side of it, and all the Country dependant of it. This opened him a fair Passage into *Macedon*, so that he might have Conquered the greatest part of it. But because he neglected that Opportunity, he was suspected of Corruption, and that he was bribed off by King *Alexander*: So, by the Combination of his Adversaries, he was accused of being false to his Country. Before the Judges he pleaded, "That he never made an Interest
 " with the Rich *Ionians* nor *Thessalians*, as
 " others have, from whence they drew
 " both Honour and Profit; but that he al-
 " ways embraced the Friendship of the *Ma-*
 " *cedonians*; for as he admired, so he wished
 " to imitate the Sedateness of their Tem-
 " per, their Temperance and Simplicity of
 " Living, which he preferred to any sort
 " of

“ of Riches; tho he had always been, and
“ still was Ambitious to enrich his Country
“ with the Spoils of her Enemies. *Stesimbrotus* making mention of his Trial, reports, That *Elpinice* in behalf of her Brother, addressed her self to *Pericles*, one of the most vehement of his Accusers; to whom *Pericles* answered with a Smile, *You are too Old (Madam) to manage Affairs of this Nature.* However, after that, he became the mildest of his Prosecutors, and rose up but once all the while to plead against him, which he did but very faintly; And *Cimon* was acquitted. As for his demeanour at home, he always restrained the Common People, who would have encroached upon the Nobility, and affected the Supream Power over them. But when he afterward was called out to War, the Multitude broke loose as it were, reversed all the ancient Laws and Customs they had hitherto observed; this they did chiefly at the instigation of *Ephialtes*; they withdrew likewise the Cognisance of almost all Causes from the *Areopagus*; so that all Appeals being made to them, the Government was reduced to a perfect Democracy; and this by the help of *Pericles*, who declared in favour of the Common People. But *Cimon*, when he returned, seeing the Authority of this Great Council so eclipsed,
was

was exceedingly troubled, and endeavour-
ed to remedy these Disorders, by bringing
things to their former state, and restoring
the Nobility to those Degrees of Command
they had in the time of *Calisthenes*: This
the others declaimed against, with all the
vehemence possible, and began to revive
those Stories concerning him and his Sister,
and cried out against him as addicted to the
Lacedæmonians. Consonant to these Calum-
nies are the famous Verses of *Eupolis* the
Poet upon *Cimon*.

*Ill Nature to him we cannot reproach;
But he is Lazy, and he will Debauch.
He goes to Sparta, and is so unkind,
He leaves poor Elpinice in Bed behind.*

But if when Slothful and a Drunkard he
could storm so many Towns, and gain so
many Victories; certainly if he had been
sober, and minded his Business with the
least application, there had been no *Grecian*
Commander, either before or after him,
that could have surpassed him for Exploits
of War. He was indeed a Favourer of the
Lacedæmonians even from his Youth; and
Stesimbrotus reports, That of two Sons
(Twins) that he had by a Woman of *Clito-
rium*, he named one *Lacedemonius*, and the
other *Eleus*: Whence *Pericles* often up-
braided

braided them with the Race of their Mother. But *Diodorus* the Geographer doth assert, That both these, and another Son of *Cimon's*, whose Name was *Thessalus*, were born of *Iso-dice* the Daughter of *Euryptolemus* the Son of *Megacles*.

However this is certain, that *Cimon* was countenanced by the *Lacedæmonians* in opposition to *Themistocles*, whom they hated; and while he was yet very young, they endeavoured to raise and encrease his Credit in *Athens*: This the *Athenians* perceived, but dissembled their knowledge of it; for the Favour of the *Lacedæmonians* shewed him was at that time advantageous to them and their Affairs; who were then Practising with the *Allies* to win them over to their side: So they seemed not at all offended with the Honour and kindness shewed to *Cimon*, for he then bore the greatest sway in the Affairs of *Greece*, was kind to the *Lacedæmonians*, and Courteous to the *Allies*. But afterwards the *Athenians* grown more powerful, when they saw *Cimon* so entirely devoted to the *Lacedæmonians*, they began to be angry, for he would always in his Speeches prefer them to the *Athenians*; and upon every occasion, when he would reprimand these for a Fault, or incite them to Emulation, he would Cry, "The *Lacedæmonians* would not do thus.
This

This raised the discontent, and got him the hatred of the Citizens; But that which ministred chiefly to the accusation against him fell out upon this Occasion.

In the fourth year of the Reign of *Archidamus* the Son of *Zeuxidamus* King of *Sparta*, there hapned in the City of *Lacedaemon* the most dreadful Earthquake that ever was known in the Memory of Man; the Earth opened into most frightful Abysses; and the top of the Mountain *Taygetus* was so shaken, that the hanging Rocks and abrupt prominent Parts of it fell down; and except five Houses, all the Town was shattered to pieces. They say, That a little before any Motion was perceived, as some young Men were exercising themselves in the middle *Portico*, an Hare of a sudden started out just by them, which some of them, tho all naked, and daubed with Oyl, run after shouting; no sooner were they gone from the place, but the *Gymnasium* fell down upon them that were left, and killed them all. In memory of this fatal Accident, the Monument where they were afterwards interred is to this day called *Sismatias*, (that is,) *The Tomb of those who were killed by the Earthquake.* *Archidamus*, by the present danger, made apprehensive of what might follow; and seeing

ing the Citizens intent upon removing the richest of their Goods he commanded an Alarm to be sounded, as if their Enemies were coming upon them, that they should presently with Arms resort to him. 'Twas this alone that saved *Sparta* at that time: For the *Helotes* were got together from the Country about, with design to surprise the *Spartans*, and spoil those whom the Earthquake had spared: But finding them Armed, and well prepared, they stole away into their Towns, and openly made War with them, having drawn into Confederacy not a few of their Neighbours; and together with them, the *Messenians* fell upon the *Spartans*, who therefore dispatch'd *Periclidus* to *Athens* to sollicite for Succours; of whom *Aristophanes*, mocking, said,

Go to the Altars, and there prostrate lie,
And, clad in Purple Robes, demand Supply.

This *Ephialtes* opposed, protesting that they ought not to raise up or assist a City that was Rival to *Athens*; but that being down, it were best to keep her so, and break the Pride and Arrogance of *Sparta*. But *Cimon* (as *Critias* relates) preferring the Safety of *Lacedæmon* to the Grandeur of his own Country, so perswaded the People,

ple, that he soon marched out with a great Army to their Relief. *Ion* reports the Speech he used to move the *Athenians*, That " they should not suffer *Greece* to be maimed " by the loss of so considerable a Member, " nor their own City to be deprived of her " Companion. In his return from aiding the *Lacedæmonians*, he passed with his Army through the Territory of *Corinth*: Whereupon *Lachartus* reproached him for bringing his Army into the Country, without first asking leave of the People: For he that knocks at another Man's Door, ought not to enter the House without the Master's leave. But you, *Lachartus*, (said *Cimon*) did not knock at the Gates of the *Cleonians* and *Megarians*, but broke them down, and entred by force, thinking that all should be open to the Powerful. And having thus rallied the *Corinthian*, he passed on with his Army. Some time after this the *Lacedæmonians* sent a second time to desire Succours of the *Athenians*, against the *Messenians* and *Helotes*, who had seized upon *Ithone*: But when they came, the *Spartans* fearing their Courage and Resolution, of all that came to their Assistance they sent them only back, alledging they were turbulent and seditious. The *Athenians* returned home, enraged at this Usage, and vented their Anger upon all those who were Favourers of
of

of the *Lacedæmonians*; therefore upon some slight occasion they banished *Cimon* for ten years, which is the time prescribed to those that are banished by the *Ostracism*. In the mean time the *Lacedæmonians* intending to free *Delphos* from the *Phoceans*, brought an Army to *Tanagra*, whither the *Athenians* presently marched with design to fight them.

Cimon also came thither armed, and ranged himself amongst those of his own Tribe, which was that of *Æneide*; but the Council of five hundred being informed of this, and frightened at it, (his Adversaries crying out he would disorder the Army, and bring the *Lacedæmonians* to *Athens*) Commanded the Officers not to receive him; wherefore *Cimon* left the Army, conjuring *Euthippus* the *Anaphlystian*, and the rest of his Companions, who were also suspected as favouring the *Lacedæmonians*, to behave themselves bravely against their Enemies, and by their Actions make their innocence evident to their Country-men. These being in all an hundred, took the Arms of *Cimon*, and followed his advice: and making a Body by themselves, they charged so desperately upon the Enemy, that they were all cut off, leaving to the *Athenians* a deep regret, for the loss of such brave Men,

and repentance for having so unjustly suspected them. Whereupon they did not long retain their severity toward *Cimon*, partly upon remembrance of his former services, and partly constrained by the juncture of the times: For being defeated at *Tanagra* in a great Battle, and fearing the *Peloponnesians* would come upon them, at the opening of the Spring; they recalled *Cimon* by a decree, of which *Pericles* himself was Author: so reasonable were Mens resentments in those times, and so moderate their Anger, that it always gave way to the publick good; even Ambition, the most ungovernable of all humane Passions, could then yield to the necessities of the State.

Cimon as soon as he returned, put an end to the War, and reconciled the two Cities. Peace thus establish'd, seeing the *Athenians* impatient of being Idle, and eager after the Honour and Spoils of War; lest they should set upon the *Grecians* themselves, or with so many Ships cruising about the *Isles* and *Peloponnesus*, they should give Occasions to intestine Wars, or Complaints of their Allies against them; He equipped two hundred Gallies, with design to make an attempt upon *Ægypt* and *Cyprus*; by this means to use the *Athenians* to fight against the *Barbarians*, and enrich themselves

selves by spoiling those who are by nature Enemies to *Greece*. But when all things were prepared, and the Army ready to embark, *Cimon* had this Dream: It seem'd to him an angry Bitch bark'd at him, and a kind of humane voice mixt with barking uttered these Words.

*Go on, for shortly thou shalt be,
A Friend to my young Whelps and me.*

This Dream was hard to interpret; yet *Astyphylus* of *Posidonium*, a man skilled in Divinations, and intimate with *Cimon*, told him, that his Death was presaged by this Vision, which he thus explained. A Dog is Enemy to him he barks at, and one is always most a friend to ones Enemies, when one is dead; that mixture of humane Voice with barking signifies the *Medes*, for the Army of the *Medes* is mixt of *Greeks* and *Barbarians*. But after this Dream, as he was sacrificing to *Bacchus*, and the Priest cutting up the Victim, a great number of Emmets, taking up the little congealed particles of the blood, laid them about *Cimon's* great Toe: This was not observed a good while; but as soon as *Cimon* spied it, the Priest came and shewed him the Liver of the Sacrifice imperfect, wanting that part of it, which they called

the head of the Entrail. But he could not then recede from the Enterprize, so he set sail; sixty of his Ships he sent toward *Ægypt*; with the rest he went and fought the King of *Persia's* Fleet composed of *Phœnician* and *Cilician* Sail: subdued all the Cities thereabout, and threatned *Ægypt*; designing no less than the entire Ruin of the *Persian* Empire; And the rather for that he was informed *Themistocles* was in great repute among the *Barbarians*, and had promised the King to lead his Army, whenever he should make War upon *Greece*; but they say *Themistocles* losing all hopes of compassing his designs, and despairing to equal the Vertue and good fortune of *Cimon*, dyed a voluntary Death. *Cimon* still framing great designs, and keeping his Navy about the Isle of *Cyprus*, sent Messengersto Consult the Oracle of *Jupiter Hammon* upon some secret matter; for 'tis not known about what they were sent; the God would give them no Answer, but commanded them to return again, for that *Cimon* was already with him. Hearing this they returned to Sea, and as soon as they came to the *Grecian* Army, which was then about *Ægypt*, they understood that *Cimon* was dead; and computing the time of the Oracle, they found that his Death was meant by it, as being then with the Gods.

Some

Some say he died of Sickneſs at *Citium* in *Cyprus*, and others of a wound he received in a Skirmiſh with the *Barbarians*; when he perceived he ſhould dye, he commanded thoſe under his charge to return to their Country, and by no means to ſpread the news of his Death by the way; this they did with ſuch ſecrecy, that they all came home ſafe, and neither their Enemies nor Allies knew what had hapned. Thus, as *Phænodemus* relates, the *Grecian* Army was, as it were, conducted by *Cimon* thirty days after he was dead. But with him periſhed all the good fortune of *Greece*; for after his Death there was not a Commander that did any thing conſiderable, or which might deſerve the name of a great action, and inſtead of uniting againſt their common Enemies, they who bore ſway in the Principal Cities, animated them againſt one another to that degree, that none durſt or would interpoſe their good Offices to reconcile them. Thus by mutual diſcord ruining themſelves, the *Persians* had time to recover Breath, and repair all their loſſes. 'Tis true indeed *Ageſilaus* made ſome ſhew of the *Grecian* Forces in *Aſia*, but 'twas a long time after; he ſeemed to revive ſome little appearances of a War againſt the Kings Lieutenants in the Provinces, but they all quickly vaniſht; for before he

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could perform any thing of moment, he was recalled by civil Dissentions at home: So that he was forced to leave the *Persian* Kings Officers to impose what Tribute they pleased on the *Grecian* Cities in *Asia*, tho under the Dominion of the *Lacedæmonians*. Whereas in the time of *Cimon*, no Officer of What Quality or Character soever could Command there, nor durst any Souldier in Arms come within four hundred furlongs of the Sea.

The Monuments called *Cimonian*, to this day in *Athens*, shew that to be the place of his Burial; yet the Inhabitants of the City *Citium*, pay particular honour to a certain Tomb, which they call the Tomb of *Cimon*, according to *Nauscrates* the *Rhetorician*; who also reports, that in a Famine, when there necessities were very great, they sent to the Oracle, which commanded them to honour *Cimon* as a God.

Thus have I drawn the Life of this Famous Captain, and by these Proportions judge of him.



LUCULLUS.



See here Lucullus sues, He humbly bends,
Of PRISCA buys his Honors and his friends
The way is base: but thus hard state commands,
For fortune still is in a Woman's hands:

THE
LIFE
OF
LUCULLUS.

Translated by *Giles Thornburgh,*
A. M.

VOLUME III.

LUCULLUS his Grandfather had been Consul, his Uncle by the Mother's Sister was *Metellus* surnamed *Numidicus*. As for his Parents, his Father was convict of Extortion, and his Mother *Cæcilia's* Reputation was blasted by her loose Life. The first thing that *Lucullus* did, before ever he came to any Office, or meddled with the Affairs of State, being then but a Youth, was, to accuse the Accuser

of his Father, *Servilius* the Augur having caught him in a Publick Trespass. This thing was much taken notice of among the *Romans*, who commended his Justice therein, as an Act of singular Vertue. Even without the Provocation, the Accusation was esteem'd no unbecoming Action; for they delighted to see young Men as eagerly pursuing injustice, as good Dogs do wild Beasts. But when great Animosities arose thereupon, insomuch that some were wounded and killed in the Fray, *Servilius* fled. *Lucullus* followed his Study, and became Master of the Greek and Latin Tongues; which made *Sylla* dedicate to him the commentaries of his Life, which he wrote himself, that the History thereof might be more methodically ordered and digested. His Speech was not Elegant, and ready for Gain only, like one

ἐκατέραν
γλώτταν.

A Fish that grows mad after Midsummer. That disturbs the Hall, as a mad Thynnus doth the Waters;
Out of it, altogether as dry, illiterate, and mute.

For in his younger days he chiefly addicted himself to the commendable Study of the Liberal Arts; and growing old in the Camp, he refreshed his Mind with the more comfortable Profession of Philosophy,

phy, chiefly favouring the Theoretick Part, and thereby wisely preventing that dangerous Contest that was breeding between *Pompey* and himself. Besides what hath been said of his great Learning already, one Instance more was, That in his Youth, upon a Proposal of writing the *Marsican* War in *Greek* and *Latin* Verse and Prose, after some witty Rallery upon the Occasion, he seriously protested to *Hortensius* the Lawyer, and *Sisenna* the Historian, that he would take his Lot for it; and very probable it is, that the Lot directed him to the *Greek* Tongue, for the *Greek* History of that War is still extant among us. Many are the Signs of the great Love which he bore to his Brother *Mark*, the earliest whereof the *Romans* at this day commemorate: Tho he was elder Brother, he would not step into Authority without him, but deferred his own Advance, until his Brother was fitly qualified to bear a share with him, who thereby so won upon the People, as when absent, to be chosen *Ædyle* with him. Clark of the Market.

Many and early were the Proofs of his Valour and Conduct in the *Marsican* War, being admir'd by *Sylla* for his Constancy and Mildness, and always employ'd in dispatching affairs where Industry and Fidelity were required; especially in the Mint, most of the Money for carrying on the
Mithridatick

Mithridatic War, being Coyned by him. Which being soon exchanged for necessaries in the Camp, was for a long time Current in the Army, and from thence called *Luculleian Coyn*. After this, when *Sylla* conquered *Athens* and necessaries for his Army were cut off by reason the Enemy was Master at Sea: *Lucullus* was the man whom he sent into *Libya* and *Ægypt*, to procure him shipping. It was then the depth of Winter, when he ventured but with three small *Greek* Vessels, and as many *Rhodian* Galleys, not only into the main Sea, but also among multitudes of the Enemies shipping, even there where they were absolute Masters. Arriving at *Crete*, he gained it: and finding the *Cyrenians* harassed by long Tyranny and War, he took Care of their publick Affairs, and settled them: Putting their City in mind of that saying which *Plato* had Divinely uttered of them: who being requested to prescribe Laws to them, and mould them into some sound form of Government, made answer, That it was a hard thing to give Laws to the *Cyrenians*, abounding with so much Wealth and Plenty. For nothing renders a man more intractable than Felicity, nor more gentle than the shock of Fortune. This made the *Cyrenians* so willingly submit to the Laws which *Lucullus* imposed upon them. From thence
sail.

sailing into *Ægypt*, and pressed by Pyrates, he lost the best part of his Navy: but he himself narrowly escaping was brought in State to *Alexandria*. The whole Fleet (a Complement due only to his Majesty) met him, and young *Ptolomy* shewed wonderful kindness to him, allowing him Lodging and Diet in the Palace, in such a manner as no Stranger before him had been received in. Besides, he gave him Gratuities and Presents, not only such as were usually given to men of his Condition, but four times as much; but he received nothing more than served his necessity, and accepted of no Gift, tho one worth Eighty Talents was offered him. 'Tis reported he neither went to see *Memphis*, nor any of the celebrated Wonders of *Ægypt*: It was *Memopolis* for a man of no Business, and much Curiosity of *Ægypt*, to see such things, not for him who had left his Commander in the Trenches, storming the Walls of his Enemies. *Ptolomy* fearing the Effect of that War, deserted the Confederacy; but nevertheless sent a Convoy with him as far as *Cyprus*, and at parting, with much Ceremony wishing him a good Voyage, gave him a very precious Emerauld set in Gold: *Lucullus* at first refused it, but when the King shewed him his own Image graven thereon, 'twas too late for a Denial; for had he shewed any discontent

tent at parting, it might have endanger'd his Passage. Drawing his Squadron together, which he had summoned out of all the maritime Towns, except of those suspected of Piracy, he sailed for *Cyprus*; and there understanding that the Enemy lay in wait under the Promontories for him, he laid up his Fleet; and sent to the Cities to send in Provisions for his wintering among them: But when Tide and Time served, he Rigg'd them out and went off, and Hoising up his Sails in the Night which he let down in the Day, came safe to *Rhodes*. Being furnished with Ships at *Rhodes*, he soon prevailed upon the Inhabitants of *Chios*, and *Knidia* to leave the King's side, and joyn with him against the *Samians*. Out of *Chios* he drove the King's Party, and set the *Colophonians* at Liberty having seized *Epigonus* the Tyrant who oppressed them.

About this time *Mithridates* left *Pergamus*, and retired to *Pitane*, where being closely besieged by *Fimbria*, and not daring to engage with so bold and Victorious a man as *Fimbria*, he contrived his Escape by Sea, and sent for all his Fleet to attend him. Which when *Fimbria* perceived, having no Ships of his own, he sent to *Lucullus*, entreating him to assist him with his in subduing the most Odious and Warlike
of

of Kings, lest the opportunity of humbling *Mithridates*, an enterprize which cost the *Romans* so much Blood and Trouble, should now at last be lost, when he was within reach, and so easily to be taken; who being caught, no one would be more highly commended than he, who stopt his passage and seized him in his flight. He being drove from the Land by the one, and stopt in the Sea by the other, would be matter of Renown and Glory to them both. As for the great Actions of *Sylla* against the *Orchomenians* about *Chæroneæ*, they were little valued by the *Romans*. The proposal was no unlikely thing, it being obvious to all Men, that if *Lucullus* had hearkened to *Fimbria*, and with his Navy, which was then near at hand, had block'd up the Haven the War soon had been brought to an end, and infinite Numbers of mischiefs prevented thereby. But he, whether from the Sacredness of Friendship between himself and *Sylla*, reckoning all other Motives far inferiour to it, or out of Detestation to wicked *Fimbria*, whom he abhorred for advancing himself by the late Death of his Friend, and the General of the Army; or, at least by divine Providence sparing *Mithridates* then, that he might have him an Adversary for the time to come, would by no means comply, but
suf-

suffered *Mithridates* to escape, and laugh at the attempts of *Fimbria*, he himself alone first, near *Lectos* of *Troas* in a Sea-fight overcame the King's Forces; and afterwards when *Neoptolemus* came upon him with a greater Fleet, he went aboard a *Rhodian Quinquereme Galley*, commanded by *Demagoras*, a Man very expert in Sea Affairs, and altogether as Friendly to the *Romans*, and sailed before the rest. *Neoptolemus* made up furiously at him, and Commanded the Master with all imaginable might to bear up to him, but *Demagoras* fearing the Bulk and Massy stem of the Admiral, thought it dangerous to meet him ahead, but Tacking about received him astern, in which place though violently bore upon, he received no manner of harm, the blow being defeated by falling on those parts of the Ship which lay under Water. At which time the rest of the Fleet coming up to him, he Tack'd about, and vigorously falling upon the Enemy, put them to flight, and pursued *Neoptolemus*. After this he came to *Sylla* in *Chersonesus*, as he was passing the *Strait*, and brought timely assistance for the safe Transportation of the Army.

Peace being now made, *Mithridates* sailed off to the *Euxine* Sea, but *Sylla* Taxed the Inhabitants of *Asia* two thousand Talents,

Talents, and ordered *Lucullus* to gather and Coyn the Money: And it was no small Comfort to the Cities under *Sylla's* severity that not only a Man of spotless Life and Justice, but also of Moderation, should be employed in so heavy and disgustful an Office. The *Mytilenians* who deserted him, he was willing should return to their Duty, and to be moderately fin'd for the offence they had given in the Case of *Marius*. But upon their obstinacy, he came up to them, overcame them at Sea, block'd them up in their City and besieged them; then Sailing off from them openly in the Day to *Elea*, he returned privately; and an Ambush being laid round the City, lay quiet himself. Whereupon the *Mytilenians* disorderly and eagerly plundering the deserted Camp, in the very fact he fell upon them, took many of them, and slew five hundred, who stood upon their defence; he gained six thousand Slaves and a very rich Booty.

He was no way engaged in the Great and General Troubles of *Italy*, which *Sylla* and *Marius* had caused, Providence at that time detaining him in *Asia* about business. He was as much in *Sylla's* favour as any of his other Friends, to whom (as is said before) he dedicated his Memoirs as a Token of his kindness, and at his Death passing by *Pompey*, made him Guardian to his

his Son, which seems to be the rise of the Quarrel between them two, both young Men, equally contending for Honour. A little after *Sylla's* Death he was made Consul with *M. Cotta*, about the one hundred seventy sixth Olympiad. The *Mithridatic* War being then under debate, *Marcus* reported that it was not finished, but only respited for a time: Wherefore upon choice of Provinces, the Lot falling to *Lucullus* to have that part of *Gaul* that was within the *Alpes*, a Province where no great Action was to be done, nor Glory to be obtained, he was exceedingly troubled: But chiefly, the Success of *Pompey* in *Spain* fretted him most, being a man highly Renowned, and after the Completion of the *Spanish* War, the onely one likely to be chosen General against *Mithridates*. So that when *Pompey* sent for Money, and signified by Letter that unless it were sent him, he would leave the Country, and *Sertorius*, and bring his Forces home to *Italy*; *Lucullus* most readily espoused his Cause, that Money might be sent him, to prevent any pretence of his returning home during his Consulship; for all things would have been at his Disposal at the Head of so great An Army. *Cethegus* a very popular Man both for Words and Actions, the Chief manager of Affairs in *Rome*, had conceived

ved a mortal hatred against him, for declaiming against his Debaucht, Insolent, and lewd Life, *Lucullus* therefore openly set himself against him. But *Lucius Quintus*, another Demagogue, inveighing against *Sylla's* Administration, and endeavouring to put things out of Order, by private Exhortations and Publick Admonitions, he hindred his Design, and suppressed his Ambition, wisely and safely encountring so great an Evil in the very Bud. At this time, News came that *Octavius* the Provincial of *Cilicia* was Dead, and many appeared for the place, courting *Cethegus*, as the man best able to serve them. *Lucullus* set little value upon *Cilicia* it self, no otherwise than as he thought by his acceptance of it, no other man besides himself might be employed in the War against *Mithridates*, by reason of its nearness to *Cappadocia*. This made him use all his Interest that that Province might be allotted to himself, and to none other; which put him upon a Project, not so Honest and Commendable, as expedient for compassing his Design, submitting to necessity against his own Inclination. There was one *Præcia*, a most celebrated Wit and Beauty, but in other things nothing better than an impudent Harlot: Who to the Charms of her Person, adding the Reputation of one that loved and served her

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Friend,

Friend, by making those who came to her, as they discoursed of the Designs and Promotions of their Friends, had got a great Interest. She had seduced *Cethegus*; the Chiefest Man in esteem and Authority of all the City, and enticed him to her Love, and so made all Authority follow her. For nothing of moment was done, wherein *Cethegus* was not concern'd, nothing by *Cethegus* without *Præcia*. This Woman *Lucullus* gain'd to his side by Gifts and Flattery (and great cost it was to procure so stately and famous a Dame, to be earnestly concern'd for *Lucullus*) and presently found *Cethegus* his Friend, using his utmost Interest to procure *Silicia* for him: Which when once obtained, there was no more need of applying himself, either to *Præcia*, or *Cethegus*; for all unanimously voted him to the *Mithridatick* War, by no hands likely to be so successfully managed as his. *Pompey* was still contending with *Sertorius*, and *Metellus* by Age unfit for Service; which two alone were the only Competitors, who could stand equal with *Lucullus* for that Command. *Cotta* his Collegue, after much ado in the Senate, was sent away with the Fleet to guard the *Propontis*, and defend the *Bithynians*. *Lucullus* listed his Forces and carried them over into *Asia*, where he collected some fresh ones, the old ones

ones being utterly disabled by dissoluteness and rapine. The *Fimbrians*, as they were called, being utterly unmanageable by their long mis-use, and unfit for service. For these were they that had slain *Flaccus* the Consul and General, under *Fimbria*, and these were they who afterward betrayed *Fimbria* to *Sylla*; a bold, and barbarous People, warlike, expert and hardy in the field. *Lucullus* in a short time took down the Courage of these, and disciplin'd others, who then first (in all probability) knew what a true Commander, and Governour was, who in former times had been courted to service, and took up Arms at no bodies Command, but their own Wills.

The Enemies provisions for War stood thus. *Mithridates*, like many of the Sophisters, very proud, and haughty at first, set upon the *Romans*, with a very unprovided Army, such indeed as made a good shew but was nothing for service; but being shamefully routed, and better instructed against a second Engagement, he formed his Forces into a just, and well martiall'd Army. And removing the Dangers, and Inconvenience which might happen among Men of different Nations, and Tongues, and no less from gilt and rich Armour, a greater Temptation to the Victors, than

security to the Bearers, gave them broad Swords like the *Romans*, and Massy Shields; chose Horses better for Service than Shape, drew up an hundred and twenty Thousand Foot in the figure of the *Roman Phalanx*; had sixteen Thousand Horse, besides Chariots Arm'd with Scyths no less than an hundred. Besides which he set out a Fleet not at all cumbred with Golden Cabins, lascivious Baths, and Womens furniture, but stored with Weapons and Darts and other necessaries, and made a descent upon *Bithynia*. Not only these parts willingly received him again, but almost all *Asia*, grievously oppressed before by the *Roman* Extortioners and Publicans, seemed to be recovered of their former Distemper. These afterwards, who like Harpies stole away their very Nourishment, *Lucullus* drove away, and by reproving them, did what he could to make them more moderate, and thereby prevented a general Sedition, then breaking out in all parts. While *Lucullus* was detained in rectifying this, *Cotta* finding Affairs ripe for Action prepared himself for the War with *Mithridates*, and News coming from all hands, that *Lucullus* was then Marching into *Phrygia*, and he thinking Victory just almost in his hands, lest his Collegue should share in the Glory of it, hasted to Battel without him. But
being

being routed both by Sea and Land, he lost sixty Ships with their Men, and four Thousand Foot: he himself was forced into, and besieged in *Chalcedon*, there waiting for relief from *Lucullus*. There were those about *Lucullus*, who would have had him leave *Cotta*, and go forward, being then in a ready way to surprise the defenceless Kingdom of *Mithridates*. And it was highly resented by the Soldiers, that *Cotta* should not only lose his own Army, but hinder them also from Conquest, which at that time without the hazard of a Battel, they might so easily have obtained. But *Lucullus* in a Solemn Speech declared unto them, That he would rather save one Citizen from the Enemy, than be Master of all that they had.

Archelaus Governor of *Bæotia* under *Mithridates*, revolting from him and siding with the *Romans*, demonstrated to *Lucullus*, that upon his bare coming, he might easily surprise all the Country of *Pontus*; but he answered, that it did not become him to be more fearful than Huntsmen, to leave the chase of the wild Beasts abroad, and seek after sport in their deserted Lodges. Having so said he made towards *Mithridates*; with thirty Thousand foot, and two Thousand five hundred Horse. But being come in sight of his Enemies, he was asto-

nished at their Numbers, and resolved to forbear fighting, and wear out time. But *Marius*, whom *Sertorius* had sent out of *Spain* to *Mithridates* with Forces under him, stepping out and challenging him, he prepared for Battel. In the very instant of joining no manifest alteration preceeding, of a sudden the Sky opened, and a great Body of light fell down in the midst between the Armies, in shape like a Hog's-head, but in Colour like melted Silver, inso-much that both Armies being surpris'd stood off. This wonderful Prodigy hap'n'd in *Phrygia* near *Otryæ*. *Lucullus* after this began to think with himself, that no Man could have Power and Wealth enough, to sustain so great Numbers as *Mithridates* had, for any long time in the face of an Enemy, Commanded one of the Captives to be brought before him, and first of all asked him how many Companions were quartered with him, and how much provision he had left behind him? and when he had answer'd him, Commanded him to stand aside; then asked a second and a third the same question, after which comparing the quantity of provision, with the Men, he found that in three or four days time, his Enemies would be brought to want. As for himself he was able to subsist longer, having stor'd his Camp with all
forts

sorts of provision, and living in plenty, was better able to beset his hungry Enemy. Which made *Mithridates* set forward against the *Cyziceni*ans, miserably shattered in the fight at *Chalcedon*, where they lost no less than three thousand Citizens, and ten Ships. And that he might the safer steal away from *Lucullus*, immediately after Supper by the help of a dark, and gloomy Night, he went off, and by the Morning gained the City opposite to it. and sat down with his Forces upon the *Adraastian* Mount. *Lucullus* saw his Motion, and pursued him, but daring not to fall upon him with disorderly Forces, fate down also near the Village called *Thracia*, a convenient pass, and plentiful place, from whence, and through which all the provisions for *Mithridates's* Camp must of necessity come. Whereupon judging of the event, he kept not his mind from his Soldiers, but when the Camp was fortified, and the Works finished, called them together, and with great assurance told them, that in few days, without the expence of Bloud, he would bring Victory to them.

Mithridates besieged the *Cyziceni*ans with ten Camps by Land, and with his Ships blockt up the Strait that was betwixt their City and the Continent, and stormed them on all sides, who were fully prepared stout-

Παραβε-
βλεχόμαι.

ly to receive him, and resolved to endure the utmost extreamity, rather than forsake the *Romans*. That which troubled them most was, that they knew not where *Lucullus* was, and heard nothing of him, though at that time his Army was visible before them. But they were imposed upon, by the *Mithridatians*; who shewing them the *Romans* Encamped on the Hills, Do ye see those, said they? those are the *Auxiliary Armenians* and *Medes* which *Tigranes* sent to *Mithridates*. These were astonish'd at the vast numbers round them, and could not believe any place of relief was left them, no not if *Lucullus* had come up to their assistance. *Demonax* sent by *Arche-laus* was the first who told them of *Lucullus's* arrival; but they disbeliev'd his report, and thought he came with forged News to comfort them: At which time a Fugitive Boy was taken and brought before them; who being asked where *Lucullus* was, smiled at their jesting, as he thought; but finding them in earnest, with his finger shewed them the *Roman* Camp; upon which they took Courage. In the Lake *Dasylitis* they used Vessels of a midling size, the biggest whereof *Lucullus* drew ashoar, and carrying her in a Waggon to the Sea, filled her with Soldiers, who Sailing along unseen in the dead of the Night, came

came safe to the City. The Gods themselves wondring at the constancy of the *Cyzicenians*, seem to have animated them with signs from above, but more especially now in the Festival of *Proserpina*, where a black Heifer being wanting for Sacrifice, they supplied it by a Meat-offering, which they set before the Altar. The holy Heifer set apart for the Goddess, and at that time grazing with the Herd of the *Cyzicenians* on the other side of the Strait, left the Herd and came home to the City alone, and offered her self for Sacrifice. By Night the Goddess appearing to *Aristagoras* the Town Clerk, I am come, said she, and have brought the *Lybian* Piper against the *Pontick* Trumpeter; bid the Citizens therefore be of good Courage. While the *Cyzicenians* were wondring at the Revelation, by a sudden North wind there arose a great storm at Sea. The Kings battering Engines, the wonderful Contrivance of *Nicomedes* of *Theffaly*, then under the Walls, by their cracking and shivering soon demonstrated what would follow; after which a mighty tempestuous South-wind succeeding, broke down the rest of the works in a Moments space, and by a violent concussion, threw down a wooden Tower a hundred Cubits high. 'Tis said that in *Ilion* *Minerva* appeared unto many in the Night

Night with bloody and torn Garments, telling them that she then came from relieving the *Cyziceni*ans: and the Inhabitants to this day have a Monument, with an Inscription by publick order of the same.

Mithridates, through the knavery of his Officers, not knowing the want of Provision in his Camp, was troubled in mind, that the *Cyziceni*ans should hold out Siege against him: But his Ambition and anger fell, when he saw his Soldiers in want, and feeding on Mans flesh; *Lucullus* being no airy vain-glorious Enemy, but one according to the Proverb, who made the seat of War in their Bellies, by seizing on the food, which should sustain them. *Mithridates* therefore took advantage of the time, while he was storming a Fort, and sent away almost all his Horse to *Bithynia*, with the Sumpters, and as many of the Foot as were unfit for service. Which *Lucullus* understanding, came to his Camp; and in the Morning during the storm, took ten bands of Foot, and the Horse with him, and pursued them through Tempest and Cold, though the severity of the Weather forc'd some of his Soldiers back, who were ready to perish under it; and with the rest coming upon the Enemy, near the River *Ryndacus*, overthrew them with so great an Overthrow, that the very Women of
Apollo.

Apollonia came out to seize on the Booty, and rob the Slain. Great numbers, as we may suppose, were slain, six Thousand Horses taken, with an infinite number of labouring Cattel, and no less than fifteen Thousand Men; all which he led along by the Enemies Camp. And here I cannot but wonder at *Salust*, who says, That this was the first time Camels were seen by the Romans; as if he thought those who fought under *Scipio* against *Antiochus* before, or those lately under the Command of *Arche-laüs* against the *Orchomenians* about *Chæro-neä*, had not known what a Camel was. But however, 'tis well known, that *Mithridates* soon fled, and contrived Delays and Diversions for *Lucullus*, while he sent his Admiral *Aristonicus* to the Greek Sea; who was betray'd in the very instant of going off, and *Lucullus* became Master of him, and ten Thousand pieces of Gold, which he was carrying with him, to corrupt some of the Roman Army. After which, *Mithridates* himself made for the Sea, leaving the Foot-Officers to conduct the Army; upon whom *Lucullus* fell about the River *Granicus*, where he took a vast number alive, and slew 15000. 'Tis reported that the number of fighting Men, and others who followed the Camp, destroy'd, amounted to thirty Myriads.

Lucullus

Lucullus first went into *Cyzicum*, and then fitting his Navy, sail'd away into the *Hellespont*, and arriving at *Troas*, he lodg'd in the Temple of *Venus*, where in the night he thought he saw the Goddess coming to him, and saying, *Why sleepest thou, great Lion, when the Fawns are nigh?* Rising up hereupon, he called his Friends to him, and told them his Vision; at which instant some *Ilians* being present, acquainted him, that thirteen of the King's *Quinqueremes* were seen off of the *Achean Haven*, sailing for *Lemnos*. He took these, and slew their Admiral *Ifidorus*; and then made after another Squadron, who were in Harbour, with their Vessels ashoar, but fought from above-deck, and sorely gall'd *Lucullus's* Men; there being neither room to sail round them, nor to bear upon them for any damage, while they stood secure, and fix'd on the Sand. After much ado, at the only Landing-place of all the Island, he Landed the Choicest of his Men, who falling upon the Enemy behind, kill'd some, and forced others to cut their Cables, who making from the Shoar, fell foul upon one another, or came within reach of *Lucullus* his Fleet. Many were kill'd in the Action. Among the Captives was *Marius* the Commander, sent by *Sertorius*, a Man who had but one Eye: And it was *Lucullus's* strict Command

mand to his Men before the Engagement, that they should kill no Man who had but one Eye, that he might rather die under disgrace and reproach. This being over, he hastned his Pursuit after *Mithridates*, whom he hoped to find at *Bithynia*, block'd up by *Voconius*, whom he sent out before to *Nicomedia* with part of the Fleet, to stop his Flight: But *Voconius*, by his mirth and jollity in *Samothracia*, slipt out his opportunity, *Mithridates* being pass'd by with all his Fleet; who hastning into *Pontus* before *Lucullus* came up to him, was nevertheless catch'd in a Storm, which disperfed his Fleet, and sunk several Ships. The Wreck floated on all the neighbouring Shoar for many days after. The Ship wherein he himself was, uncapable of being brought ashoar by the Masters for its bigness, rolling up and down in the Flood, being heavy with Water and ready to sink, he left, and went aboard a Pyratical Vessel, delivering himself into the hands of Pyrats, and unexpectedly and wonderfully came safe to *Hera-clea* in *Pontus*.

There hapned a generous Emulation between *Lucullus* and the Senate: For they having decreed him 3000 Talents to furnish out a Navy, he himself was against it, and sent them word, that without so great Supplies, by the Confederate Shipping alone,

lone, he did not in the least doubt but to rout *Mithridates* from the Sea. And so he did, by Assistance from above; for 'tis reported, that *Diana Priapina* sent the great Tempest upon the People of *Pontus*, because they had robbed her Temple, and removed her Image. When many were perswading *Lucullus* to go directly on, he rejected their Counsel, and march'd through *Bithynia* and *Galatia*, to the King's Country; in so great scarcity of Provision at first, that thirty Thousand *Galatians* followed, every Man carrying a Bushel of Wheat at his Back. But he subduing all in his Progress before him, at last arrived at so great Plenty, that an Ox was sold in the Camp for a single Groat, and a Slave for four. The other Booty they made no account of, but took and destroyed as they pleased; there being no Contest among them, where all were satisfied. But inasmuch as they had made frequent IncurSIONS and Advances, as far as *Themiscyra* and the inner *Thermodon*, and had laid waste the Country before them, they began to discourse with *Lucullus* in good earnest, "Why he took so many
 " Towns by Surrender, and never an one
 " by Storm, which might enrich them
 " with the Plunder. And now, forsooth
 " leaving *Amisus* behind, a rich and wealthy
 " City, of easie Conquest (if closely besieged)

“ ed) to carry us into the *Tibarenian* and
“ *Chaldean* Wilderness, to fight with *Mi-*
“ *thridates*. *Lucullus* little thinking this
would be of so dangerous consequence as it
afterwards prov’d, took no notice of it, but
sighted it, and choose rather to excuse him-
self to those who blamed his Tardiness, in
losing time about small pitiful Places, not
worth the while, and allowing *Mithridates*
time to recruit. “ That is what I design,
“ said he, and am contriving by my delay,
“ that he may grow great again, and gather
“ a considerable Army, which may induce
“ him to stand, and not fly away before us,
“ for do ye not see the vast and boundless
“ Wilderness behind? *Caucasus* is not far
“ off, and the steep and craggy Mountains,
“ enough to conceal numbers of Kings in
“ their flight from Battel. Besides, ’tis a
“ Journey but of few days from *Cabira* to
“ *Armenia*, where *Tigranes* Reigns, King of
“ Kings, who by his Power dissolved the
“ *Parthian* Empire in *Asia*, brought several
“ Greek Towns under the *Median* Yoke,
“ Conquered *Syria* and *Palæstine*; extin-
“ guished the Royal Line of *Seleucus*, and
“ carried away their Wives and Daughters
“ by violence. This same is Relation and
“ Son-in-Law to *Mithridates*, and cannot
“ but receive him upon entreaty, and enter
“ into War with us to defend him; so that
“ while

“ while we endeavour to depose *Mithridates*, we shall endanger the bringing in of
“ *Tigranes* against us, who already hath
“ sought occasion to fall out with us, but
“ can never find one so justifiable as the
“ Succour of a Friend and necessitous
“ Prince. Why therefore should we put
“ *Mithridates* upon this strait, who as yet
“ knows not how he may best fight with
“ us, and utterly disdains to stoop to *Tigranes*; and not rather allow him time
“ to gather a new Army and grow insolent,
“ that we our selves might fight with the
“ *Colchians* and *Tibarenians*, whom we have
“ often defeated already, and not with *Medes* and *Armenians*. Upon these Motives
Lucullus sat down before *Amisus*, and slowly carried on the Siege; but the Winter being well spent, he left *Murena* in charge with it, and went himself against *Mithridates*, then Rendezvousing at *Cabira*, and resolving to wait for the *Romans* with forty Thousand Foot about him, and thirteen Thousand Horse, wherein he chiefly confided. But passing the River *Lycus*, he challenged the *Romans* into the Plains, where the Cavalry engaged, and the *Romans* were beaten. *Pomponius*, a Man of good note, was taken, wounded, and sore, and in pain as he was, was carried before *Mithridates*, and asked by the King, If by saving his
Life,

Life, he would become his Friend, who answered, Yes, if thou, O King, wilt be reconciled to the *Romans*; if not, thy Enemy. *Mithridates* wondred at him, and did him no hurt. The Enemy being Master of the Plains, *Lucullus* was something afraid and delayed getting to the Mountains, being very large, woody, and almost inaccessible; when by good luck some *Greeks*, who had fled into a Cave, were taken, the eldest of whom, *Artemidorus* by name, promised to bring *Lucullus*, and seat him in a place of safety for his Army, and a Fort that overlook'd *Cabira*. *Lucullus* believing him, lighted his Fires, and marched in the Night, and safely passing the Strait, gained the Port, and in the Morning was seen above the Enemy, pitching his Camp in a place advantageous to descend upon them, if he desired to fight; and secure from being forced, if to lie still. Neither side was willing to engage at present; but 'tis reported that some of the King's Party being hunting a Stag, some *Romans* quartered upon them and met them. Whereupon they Skirmished, more still drawing together to each side. In short, the King's Party prevailed, where, upon the *Romans* from their Camp seeing their Companions fly, were enraged, ran to *Lucullus* with Intreaties to lead them out, pressing

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that Sign might be given for Battel. But he, that they might know of what consequence the Presence and Appearance of a wise Governour is in time of Conflict and Danger, commanded them to stand still; but himself went down into the Plains, and meeting with the foremost that fled, commanded them to stand, and turn back with him. These obeying, the rest followed, and making up a Body, with no great difficulty drove back the Enemies, and pursued them to their Camp. After his return, *Lucullus* inflicted a just punishment upon the Fugitives, and made them dig a Trench naked, of twelve Foot; while the rest stood by and look'd on.

There was in *Mithridates's* Camp one *Olthacus*, Governour of the *Dardarians*, a Barbarous People, living near the Lake *Mæotis*, a Man remarkable for Strength and Courage in Fight, Wise in Council, and Pleasant and Free in Conversation. He, out of Emulation and Glory, outvying the rest of the Lords, promised a great piece of Service to *Mithridates*, no less than the Death of *Lucullus*. The King commended his Resolution, and according to agreement counterfeited Anger, and slighted him; whereupon he took Horse and fled to *Lucullus*, who kindly received him, being a Man of great Credit in the Army. After
some

some short trial of his Sagacity and Wisdom, he found way to *Lucullus's* Board and Council. The *Dardarian* thinking he had a fair opportunity, commanded his Servants to lead his Horse out of the Camp, while he himself, as the Soldiers were refreshing and easing themselves in the Shade, it being then High-noon, went to the General's Tent, not at all suspecting that entrance would be denied him, who was so familiar with the General, and came under pretence of extraordinary Business with him. He had certainly been admitted, had not Sleep, which hath destroyed many Captains, saved *Lucullus*. For so it was, that *Menedemus*, one of the Bed chamber, was standing at the Door, who told *Olthacus*, that it was altogether unseasonable to see him, since after long Watching and hard Labour, he was but just before laid down to compose him. *Olthacus* would not go away upon this Denial, but still persisted, saying, that he must go in to discourse of some necessary Affairs whereupon *Menedemus* grew angry, and replied, That nothing was more necessary than the safety of *Lucullus*, and forced him away with both hands. Whereupon, out of fear, he straightway left the Camp, took Horse, and without Effect returned to *Mithridates*. Thus in Time, as in Physick,

there are Moments of Life and Death.

After this, *Somatius* being sent out with ten Companies for Forage, and pursued by *Menander*, one of *Mithridates's* Captains, stood his Ground, and after a sharp Engagement slew and destroyed the Enemy. *Adrianus* being sent afterward with other Forces, to procure Food enough and to spare for the Camp, *Mithridates* would by no means suffer him, but dispatch'd *Meremachus* and *Myro* with a great Force, both Horse and Foot, against him; all which, except two, (as is reported) were cut off by the *Romans*. *Mithridates* concealed the Loss, giving it out, that it was a small Defeat, nothing near so great as reported, and occasioned chiefly by the unskillfulness of the Leaders. But *Adrianus* in great Pomp passed by his Camp, having many Waggon's full of Corn, and other Booty; which brought Despair upon himself, and Confusion and a horrible Consternation upon his Army. 'Twas resolv'd therefore no longer to stay. But when the King's Servants sent away their own Goods in quiet, and hindred others from doing so too, in great fury they thronged and crowded to the Gates, seized on the Guards and kill'd them; where *Dorylaus* the Captain, having nothing else besides his Purple Garment, lost his Life for the same; and *Her-*
maeus

mæus the Priest was trod under foot in the Gate.

Mithridates having none of his Guards or Attendance with him, got out of the Camp in the Throng, but had none of his Horses with him; but *Ptolomy* the Eunuch looking back, and seeing him flying among the others, dismounted, and gave his Horse to the King. The *Romans*, as they pressed on, were just ready to take him, the close Pursuit which they made, reaching up just to him: But Greediness and Avarice hindred the *Romans* from acquiring that Booty, which in so many Fights and Hazards they had sought after, and hindred *Lucullus* from the Glory of Conquest: For the Horse which carried the King was just ready to be seized; but one of the Mules that carried the Sumpter, either by accident stepping in, or by order of the King so appointed to go between him and the Pursuers, they seized and pilfered the Gold, and falling out among themselves about, the prey let slip the great Prize. Neither was their Greediness prejudicial to *Lucullus* in this only, but also they slew *Calistratus* the King's Secretary, under suspicion of having five hundred pieces of Gold quilted up in his Clothes, whom he had ordered to be conveyed safe into the Camp; notwithstanding all which, he gave them

leave to plunder the Camp. After this, in *Cabira*, and other strong Holds which he took, he found great Treasures, and private Prisons, wherein many *Greeks*, and many of the Kings Relations had of old been confin'd: who counting themselves no other than dead Men, by the Favour of *Lucullus* met not only with Relief, but a new Life and Resurrection: *Nysa* Sister of *Mithridates* was made Captive by a blessed Captivity: but those who seemed to be most out of danger, Wives and Sisters at *Pharnacia*, placed in safety as they thought, all miserably perished by the coming back of *Bacchides* the Eunuch from *Mithridates* to them. Among others, there were two Sisters of the King, *Roxana* and *Statira*, Virgins of forty years old, and two *Ionian* Wives, *Bernice* of *Chios*, and *Monime* of *Milesum*. This latter was the most celebrated among the *Greeks*, because she so long withstood the King in his Courtship to her, when he presented her with fifteen thousand Pieces of Gold, until such time as the Marriage was consummate, the Crown was sent her, and she was saluted Queen. She had been a sorrowful Woman before, and often bewailed her Beauty, that had procured her a Keeper in stead of a Husband, and Watch of *Barbarians* in stead of a Nuptial House and Attendance. Being removed
from

from *Greece*, she enjoyed the Pleasure, which she propos'd to her self, only in a Dream, being in the mean time robb'd of that which is real. *Bacchides* came and bid them prepare for Death, as every one thought most agreeable and easie. She took the Diadem from her Head, and fastning the String to her Neck, suspended her self therewith: Which being soon broke, "O curst Head-band, said she, not at all able to help me in this small thing! And throwing it away, she spat on it, and gave her Neck to *Bacchides*. *Bernice* had prepar'd a Potion for her self, but at her Mother's intreaty, who stood by, she gave her part of it: Both drank of the Potion, which prevail'd over the weaker Body; but *Bernice* having drank too little, was nothing changed, but being something indispos'd, was strangled by *Bacchides* for haste. 'Tis said that one of the unmarried Sisters, with bitter Execrations and Curses, drank the Poison; but *Statira* utter'd nothing ungentile or reproachful, but, on the contrary, commended her Brother, who in his own Danger neglected not theirs, but carefully provided, that without shame or disgrace they might go out of the World.

Lucullus, being a tender and good-natur'd Man, was concern'd at these things;

but however going on, he came to *Talauri*, from whence, four days before his arrival, *Mithridates* fled, and was got to *Tigranes* in *Armenia*. Whereupon he took in the *Chaldeans* and *Tibarenians*, with the lesser *Asia*, and having placed Garrisons in their Cities, he sent *Appius* to *Tigranes* to demand *Mithridates*. He himself went to *Amisus*, which still held out Siege under the Command of *Callimachus*, who by his great Skill and no less Experience in Tactics, as much as could be shown in a Siege, incommoded the *Romans*; for which after he paid dear enough: For *Lucullus* unexpectedly coming upon him at the same time of the Day when the Soldiers used to lie quiet and still, gained part of the Wall, and forced him to leave the City, which he fired, either envying the *Romans* the Booty, or at least contriving his own Escape the better thereby. No Man look'd after those who went off, but as soon as the Fire had seized on most part of the Wall, the Soldiers prepared themselves for Plunder; where *Lucullus* pitying the Ruins of the City, brought Assistance from without, and encourag'd his Men to extinguish the Flames. But all Men being intent upon the Prey, and giving no heed to him, with great shoutings brandished their Weapons in the Air; whereupon he was compelled to

to let them plunder, that by that means at least he might save the City from Fire. But they did quite contrary; for in searching the Houses with Lights and Torches, every where with them they increas'd the flames; insomuch that *Lucullus* the next day went in, and weeping, said to his Friends, that he had often before blessed the Fortune of *Sylla*, but never so much admir'd it as then, because when he was willing, he was also able to save *Athens*; but my infelicity is such, that while I endeavour to imitate him, I become like *Mommius*. Nevertheless he endeavoured to save as much of the City as he could; and at the same time also, by a lucky Providence, the Rain concurred to extinguish the Fire. He himself, while present, repaired the Ruins as much as he could, receiving the Inhabitants who fled, and settling as many *Greeks* as were willing to live there adding a hundred and twenty Furlongs of Ground to the Place.

This City was a Colony of *Athens*, built at that time when she flourished, and was powerfull at Sea; upon which account those who fled from *Aristo's* Tyranny, settled here and, were made free; but had the ill luck to fly from Evils at home, into greater abroad. As many of these as survived, *Lucullus* furnished every one with Clothes, and two hundred Groats,

Groats, and sent them away into their own Country ; at which time *Tyrannio* the *Grammarian* was taken. *Murena* begg'd him of *Lucullus*, and took him, and set him free ; but he abused *Lucullus's* Favour therein ; for he by no means liked that a Man of Learning should be first made a Slave, then Free ; for Freedom thus speciously granted again, was a real deprivation of what he had before. But not in this Case alone *Murena* shew'd himself far inferiour in Generosity to the General: *Lucullus* was now busie in looking after the Affairs of *Asia*, and having no War to divert his time, spent it in the distribution of Justice, which by the continuance of dismal Troubles and Revolutions, had been for a long time a stranger in the Province; which was then also miserably oppressed and enslaved by Publicans and Usurpers, insomuch that they were forced privately to sell their Sons in the flower of their Youth, and their Daughters in their Virginity, and their Consecrated Gifts, Pictures, and holy Images in the open Market, and in the end to yield up themselves Slaves to their Creditors; before which worser troubles lay upon them, which were Tortures, Imprisonments, Racks, standing abroad to be scorched when the Sun was near, and confin'd to stand in ice and clay in the cold ; insomuch that slavery

slavery was no less than redemption, and joy to them. *Lucullus* in a short time freed the Cities from all these evils and oppressions; for first of all, he ordered there should be no more taken than One *per Cent*. Secondly, where the use was greater than the Principal, it should wholly be abolished: the Third, and most considerable Order was, that the Creditor should receive the fourth part of the Debtors income; but if mens persons were engaged, it was utterly disallowed; insomuch that in the space of four years all debts were paid, and lands return'd to their right Owners. The publick debt was contracted when *Asia* was fin'd twenty thousand Talents by *Sylla*, but twice as much was paid to the Collectors, who by Use and Interest had at last advanced it to a hundred and twenty thousand Talents. Whereupon they inveighed against *Lucullus* at *Rome*, as injured by him, and by their Wealth, and Credit, which they had over many of the Principal Officers, they stirr'd up several leading Men against him. But *Lucullus* was not only beloved by those People whom he obliged, but was also wished for by other Provinces, who blessed the good luck of those, who had such a Governour over them.

Appius Clodius, who was sent to *Tigranes*

nes (the same *Clodius*, was Brother to *Lucullus's* Wife) being led by the Kings guides in an unnecessary, and tedious way, over the Mountains, through many Windings, and Turnings, being better informed by his Free-man, a *Syrian* by Nation, of the direct rode, left that long and fallacious one; and kindly bidding the *Barbarians* his Guides adieu, in a few days passed over *Euphrates*, and came to *Antiochia* upon *Daphne*. There being commanded to wait for *Tigranes*, (who at that time was reducing of *Phœnicia*) he brought over many great Men to his side, who unwillingly had submitted to the King of *Armenia* (among whom was *Zarbienus* King of the *Gordyeni-ans*) where also many of the Conquered Cities Corresponded privately with him, whom he assured of relief from *Lucullus*, but ordered them to lie still at present. The *Armenian* Government was very heavy and intolerable to the *Greeks*, especially that of the present King, who growing insolent and proud with his Success, imagined all things valuable and esteem'd among men, that had been already in his power and purposely created for him alone. From a small, and inconsiderable rise, he had Conquered many Nations, broke the *Parthian* Power (more than any before him) and filled *Mesopotamia* with *Greeks*, whom he

he carried out of *Cilicia* and *Cappadocia*. He transplanted the Wild *Arabs* from their Country, and manner of living, and settled them near him for improvement of Trade.

Many Kings serv'd at his Table, but four he always carried with him as Servants and Guards, who ran by his Horse side in poor habit, and with folded hands attended him, when sitting on his Throne, and publishing his Decrees to the People: Which posture of all others was that which most expressed slavery, it being of Men, who had bid adieu to Liberty, and had prepar'd their Bodies more for the Chastisement, than service of their Masters. *Appius* being nothing dismayed, or surprized at so Tragical a sight, so soon as audience was granted him, said, he came to demand *Mithridates*, due to *Lucullus's* triumph, otherwise to denounce War against *Tigranes*: Insomuch that tho *Tigranes* endeavoured to receive him with a pleasing Countenance and a composed Smile, he could not dissemble his concern to them who stood about him, at the frank humour of the young Man; for it was the first time in twenty five years any free Speech had been uttered to him, so many years had he then Reigned. But however he made answer to *Appius*, That he would not desert *Mithridates*,

dates, but would make the *Romans* pay dear enough for beginning the War. That he was angry with *Lucullus* for calling him only King in his Letter, and not King of kings, and therefore in his Answer he would not call him *Imperator*. Great Gifts were sent to *Appius*, which he refused; but they being augmented, that he might not seem to go away in Anger, he took one Goblet, and sent the rest back, and went off to the General. *Tigranes* before this neither vouchsafed to see nor speak with *Mithridates*, tho a near Kinsman, and forced out of so considerable a Kingdom; but proudly and scornfully at a distance contemn'd him; and in a manner secured him in Moorish and unhealthy Places; but then with respect and kindness sent for him, and at a private conference between them in the Palace, they healed up all private jealousies between them, punishing their Favourites, who bore all the blame: Among whom *Metrodorus Scepsius* was one, a witty and learned Man, and a bosom Friend, vulgarly called the King's Father. *This Man as it hapned, being employed in an Embassy by Mithridates to sollicite help against the Romans, Tigranes ask'd him, What would you, Metrodorus, advise me to in this Affair? In return to which, either out of good Will to Tigranes, or of desire to have Mithridates*

thridates taken off, made Answer, That as Ambassador he counsell'd him to it, but as a Friend dissuaded him from it. This Tigranes reported, and affirmed to Mithridates, thinking that no harm would come of it to Metrodorus. But upon this he was presently taken off, for which Tigranes was sorry, being not indeed the principal cause of Metrodorus's death, but no small addition to the anger of Mithridates against him; for he privately hated him before, as appeared from his Cabinet-Papers when taken, wherein it was ordered that Metrodorus should die; Tigranes buried him splendidly, sparing no cost to his dead Body, whom he betrayed when alive. In Tigranes's Court died also Amphicrates the Orator, (if at least for Athens sake, we may remember him,) for 'tis reported that he fled to Seleucia, upon the River Tygris, and being desir'd to teach Philosophy among them, arrogantly reply'd, that the Dish was too little to hold a Dolphin. Wherefore he came to Cleopatra, Daughter of Mithridates, and Queen to Tigranes, but being accused of high Misdemeanors, and prohibited all Commerce with his Country-men, soon ended his Days.

Lucullus, when he had established wholesome Laws, and a lasting Peace in Asia, did not altogether banish Pleasure, and Mirth; but

but during his residence at *Ephesus*, gratified the Country with Sports, Festival Triumphs, Wrestling Games, and Prizes. And they in requital, instituted others, called *Lucullian Games*, in honour to him, thereby manifesting their real love to him, which was of more value to him, than all the Honour in the World. But when *Appius* came to him, and told him he must prepare for War, he went again into *Pontus*, and gathering together his Army, besieged *Synope*, or rather those of the Kings side who held it; who thereupon killed most of the *Synopeans*, and set the City on fire, and by night endeavoured to escape: Which when *Lucullus* perceived, he came upon the City, and killed Eight thousand of those who were left behind; but to the others he restored what was their own, and took special care for the Welfare of the City. To which he was chiefly prompted by this Vision. One seemed to come to him in his sleep, and say, Go on a little further *Lucallus*: for *Antolicus* is coming to see Thee. When he arose, he could not imagine what the Vision meant. The same day he took the City, and as he was pursuing the *Cilicians*, who were fled, he saw a Statue lying on the Shoar, which the *Cilicians* carried so far, but had not time to carry it aboard. It was one of the Master-pieces of *Sthenis*: And one told

told him, that it was the Statue of *Autolicus*, the Founder of the City. Which same *Autolicus* is reported to be Son to *Dimachus*, and one of those who under *Hercules* went in the Expedition out of *Thessaly* against the *Amazons*; from whence, in his return with *Demoleon*, and *Phlogius*, he lost his Vessel on a point of the *Chersonesus*, called *Pedalion*. He himself, with his Companions, and their Weapons, being saved, came to *Synope*, and dispossessed the *Syrians* there. The *Syrians* held it, descended from *Syrus*, (as is reported) the Son of *Apollo*, and *Synope*, the Daughter of *Asopis*. Which as soon as *Lucullus* heard, he remembered the saying of *Sylla*, who positively affirms in his *Memoirs*, That nothing is so credible, and beyond dispute, as what is revealed in Dreams.

But as soon as it was told him that *Mithridates* and *Tigranes* were just ready to transport their Forces into *Lycaonia* and *Cilicia*, he much wondered why the *Armenian*, if he had any real intention to fight with the *Romans*, did not assist *Mithridates* in his flourishing condition, and joyn Forces when he was fit for service; but suffering him to be vanquish'd, and broken in pieces, should now, at last, upon slender hopes, begin the War, and throw himself down headlong with them, who were irrecoverably fal'n already. But when *Macares*

the Son of *Mithridates*, and Governour of the *Bosphorus*, sent him a Crown valued at a thousand pieces of Gold, and desired to be list'd a Friend, and Confederate of the *Romans*, he justly reputed that War at an end, and left *Sornatius* his Deputy, with Six thousand Souldiers to take care of the Province. He himself, with Twelve thousand Foot, and little less than Three thousand Horse, advanced to the second War. But it was very plain, that with two great, and ill-advised speed, he Marched against Warlike Nations, many Thousands of Horse, into a vast Champaign, every way enclosed with deep Rivers, and Snowy Mountains. Which made the Souldiers, besides the disorder of their ranks, with great unwillingness, and reluctancy, follow him. When as at the same time also the Tribunes at home publicly inveighed, and declared against him, as one that raised up War after War, not so much for the Interest of the Republick, as that he himself, being still in Commission, might not lay down Arms, but go on enriching himself by the Publick loss. These Men, at last, were even with him. But *Lucullus*, by long journeys, came to *Euphrates*, where finding the Waters out, and rough, by reason of the late Winter, was much troubled for fear of a delay, where danger might come on him, while he procured Boats,

Boats, and made a Bridge of them. But in the evening the flood giving, and decreasing more in the night, the next day they saw the River within his Banks: Infomuch that the Inhabitants discovering the little Islands in the River, and the Water stagnating round them, a thing which had rarely hapned before, worshipped *Lucullus*, before whom the very River was humble and submissive, and yielded an easie and swift passage. Making use of the opportunity, he carried over his Army, and met with a lucky sign at landing. Holy Heifers are preserved on purpose for *Diana Persica*, whom of all the Gods, the *Barbarians* beyond *Euphrates* chiefly adore. They use only Heifers for her Sacrifices. Which, at other times, wander up and down undisturbed, with the Mark of the Goddess upon them, *shining* ^{Λαμπρὴ} *brightness*; ^{δα.} and it is no small, nor easie thing, when occasion requires to seize one of them. But one of these, when the Army had passed *Euphrates*, coming to a Rock Consecrated to the Goddess, stood upon it, and then laying down her Neck, like others that are forc'd down with a Rope, offered her self to *Lacullus* for Sacrifice: Besides which, he offered also a Congratulatory Bull to *Euphrates*, for his safe passage. All that day he tarried there, but on the next, and those that followed, he travelled

through *Sophene*, using no manner of Violence to those who came to him, and willingly received his Army. But when the Soldiers were desirous to plunder a Castle, that seemed to be well stored within. "That" is the Castle, said he, that we must storm, "shewing them *Taurus* at a distance ; there" are the rewards of Triumph : Wherefore hastning his March, and passing the *Tigris*, he came over into *Armenia* ; The first Messenger that gave notice of *Lucullus* his coming, was so far from pleasing *Tigranes*, that he had his Head cut off for his pains ; and no Man daring to bring farther Information ; without any Intelligence at all, *Tigranes* fate fuming with Hostility and Wrath, giving ear only to those who flattered him, by saying, That *Lucullus* would shew himself a greater Commander, by standing before *Tigranes* at *Ephesus*, than by his running away out of *Asia*, frightened with the many Thousands that come against him. "He is a Man of a strong Body that can" carry off a load of Wine, and of a singular Constitution that can digest Felicity. *Mithrobarzanes*, one of his chief Favorites, first dar'd to tell him the truth : But had no more thanks for his pains, than to be immediately sent out against *Lucullus* with Three thousand Horse, and a great number of Foot, with peremptory Commands
to

to bring him alive, and trample down his Army. Some of *Lucullus's* Men were then pitching their Camp, and the rest were coming up to them, when the Scouts gave notice that the Enemy was approaching, whereupon he was in fear lest they should fall upon him, while his Men were at a distance, and not come up into a Body: Which made him stay for settling the Camp himself; and send out *Sextilius* the Legate with Sixteen hundred Horse, and almost as many heavy and light Arms, with Orders to advance upon the Enemy, and keep their ground, until Intelligence came to him that the Camp was finished. *Sextilius* designed to have kept this Order: But *Mithrobarzanes* coming furiously upon him, he was forced to fight. In the Engagement *Mithrobarzanes* himself fighting, was slain, and all his Men, except a few who run away, were destroyed. After which *Tigranes* left *Tigranocerta*, a great City built by himself, and retired to *Taurus*, and called all his Forces about him.

But *Lucullus* giving him no time to Rendezvous, sent out *Murena* to hinder, and cut off those who Marched to *Tigranes*, and *Sextilius* also to disperse a great Company of *Arabians* then going to the King; both *Sextilius* fell upon the *Arabians* in their Camp, and destroyed most of them; and also *Murena*, in his pursuit after *Tigranes*

through a Craggy and Narrow way, opportunely fell upon him : Upon which *Tigranes* throwing away all cumbrances, fled ; many of the *Armenians* were killed , and more taken. After this Success *Lucullus* went to *Tigranocerta*, and sitting down before the City, besieged it. In it were many *Greeks* carried away out of *Cilicia*, and many *Barbarians* in like circumstances with the *Greeks*, *Arraberrians*, *Assyrians*, *Gordyenians*, and *Cappadocians*, whose Countries he had destroyed, and forced away the Inhabitants to settle here. It was a rich and beautiful City ; every Nobleman, and Commoner, in imitation of the King, studied to enlarge and adorn it. Which made *Lucullus* more vigorously assault it, being persuaded that *Tigranes* would by no means suffer him, but even against his own Judgment come down in anger to force him away ; Wherein he rightly Judged. *Mithridates* earnestly dissuaded him from it, sending Messengers to him not to engage, but rather with his Horse to hinder him from foraging. *Taxiles* also the Messenger, then in his Army, very much intreated the King to forbear and avoid the *Roman* Forces, as a Business not to be medled with at that time. To this he hearkened at first, but when the *Armenians*, and *Gordyenians* in a full Body, and the joint-Forces of *Medes* and
and

and *Adiabeni*ans under their respective Kings, came up to him : When many *Ara-*
bians came up the River from *Babylon* , o-
thers from the *Caspian* Sea, *Albanians*, *Ibe-*
rians, and their Neighbours, and not a few
of the ungovernable People near *Araxe* by
intreaty and hire, came together up to him ;
all the Kings Tables and Councils rung of
nothing but Expectations, Boastings, and
Barbarick Threatnings. *Taxiles* went in
danger of his Life for giving Counsel against
fighting, and it was imputed to Envy in
Mithridates, to divert him from so Glori-
ous an Enterprize : Whereupon *Tigranes*
would by no means tarry for him, for fear
he should share in the Glory ; but march'd
on with all his Army, lamenting to his
Friend, (as is said) that he should fight
with *Lucullus* alone, and not with all the
Roman Generals together. Neither was his
Boldness to be accounted frantick or rash ,
when he had so many Nations and Kings
attending him, with so many Thousand of
well-armed Foot and Horse about him. He
had Twenty thousand Archers, and Slin-
gers, Fifty five thousand Horse (whereof
Fifteen thousand were all in Armour , as
Lucullus wrote to the Senate) a Hundred
and fifty thousand heavy Arms drawn up
partly into Companies, partly into *Phalan-*
ges ; besides others appointed to open the
B b 4 ways,

ways, and lay Bridges to drein the Waters, and prepare Fuel, with other necessary attendance, to the number of Thirty five thousand: Who being quartered behind the Army, made it the more formidable to behold. As soon as he had passed *Taurus*, and appeared with his Forces, and saw the *Romans* beleaguering *Tigranocerta*, the barbarous People within with shoutings and acclamations received the sight, and threatening the *Romans* from the Wall, pointed to the *Armenians*. In a Council of War, some advised *Lucullus* to leave the Siege, and march up to *Tigranes*, others, that it would not be safe to leave the Siege, and so many Enemies behind. He himself answered, that neither side rightly, but both together gave sound advice; whereupon he divided his Army, and left *Murena* with Six thousand Foot, the Charge of the siege, he himself went out with Twenty four Bands, in which were no less than Ten thousand men at Arms, all the Horse, and about a Thousand Slingers and Archers, and sitting down by a River in a large Plain, appeared very considerable to *Tigranes*, and a fit Subject for the flattering Wits about him. Some whereof jeared, others cast Lots for the spoil, every one of the Kings and Commanders came, and desir'd the Engagement alone, and that he would be pleased to sit still and behold.

Tigranes

Tigranes himself something Witty and Pleasant upon the occasion, made use of the old saying, That they were too many for Ambassadors, and too few for Soldiers. Thus they continu'd laughing and scoffing. As soon as day came, *Lucullus* brought out his Forces in their Arms. The *Barbarian* Army stood at the Eastern part of the River, but *Lucullus* at the West, and at a turn of the River where it was best passable, while he led his Army in haste, seem'd to *Tigranes* to fly. Who thereupon called *Taxiles*, and in derision said, "Do you not see this invincible Army of the *Romans* flying? But *Taxiles* reply'd, I would to God, O King, some such Fortune may attend your Soul! But surely Travellers never put on their best Cloths, nor use bright Shields and naked Head-pieces, and unsheathed Weapons, as now you see; but this is a preparation for War, and of Men just ready to engage with their Enemies. While *Taxiles* was thus speaking, as *Lucullus* wheeled about, the first Eagle appeared, and the Bands, according to their Divisions and Companies, were just ready to pass over, when, with much ado, and like a Man in a Debauch, *Tigranes* cryed out twice or thrice, What are you coming upon us, Sirs? In great hast therefore he put his Army in Array, keeping the main Body to him-

himself, the Left Wing was given in Charge to the *Adiabeanian*, and the Right to the *Mede*, in the Front whereof were most of the Armed Men placed. Some Officers advised *Lucullus* to lie still that day, being one of those unfortunate ones, whom they call Black-days, for therein the Army under *Scipio*, engaging with the *Cimbrians*, was destroyed: But he, by a very memorable Saying, replied, *I will make this a happy day to the Romans*. It was the day before the *Nones* of *October*. Having so said, he bad them Courage, passed over the River, and himself first of all led them against the Enemy. A Coat of Mail with shining Scales he had on, and a fringed Mantle; and drew out his naked Sword, as if they had been to engage with Men that used to fight at a distance, and by a sudden falling in, he straitned the open places, which were necessary for the Archers. But when he saw the armed Horse, the Flower of the Army, drawn up under a Hill, on the top whereof was a broad and open Plain, about four Furlongs high, and of no difficult or troublesome access, he commanded his *Thracian* and *Gallogrecian* Horse to fall upon their Flanck, and beat down their Lances with their Swords. (The only Defence of the Men in Arms are their Lances, they have nothing else to defend them-

themselves, or annoy their Enemy, by reason of the weight and hardness of their Armour, in which they are enclosed.) He himself, with two Bands, made to the Mountain, the Souldiers briskly following on, when they saw him in Arms, afoot, first toiling and climbing up. Being on the top, and standing in an open place, with a loud Voice he cried out, *We have overcome, we have overcome, O my Fellow-Soldiers!* And having so said, he marched against the armed Horsemen, commanding his Men not to throw their Piles, but coming up hand to hand with the Enemy, to hack their Shins and Thighs, which Parts alone are unguarded in armed men. But there was no need of this way of fighting, for they stood not to receive the *Romans*, but with great clamour, and worse Flight, they and their heavy Horses broke the Ranks of the Foot before ever the Fight began; insomuch that without a Wound, or Blood-shed, so many thousands were overthrown. The greatest Slaughter was made in the Flight, or rather in endeavouring to fly away, which they could not well do by reason of the depth and closeness of the Ranks, which hindred them. *Tigranes* at first fled with a few, but seeing his Son in the same misfortune, he took the Crown from his Head, and with Tears gave it him, bidding him save

save himself in some other way if he could. But the Prince daring not to put it on, gave it to one of his trustiest Servants to keep for him. This Man, as it hapned, being taken, was brought to *Lucullus*; so among the Captives the Crown also of *Tigranes* was taken. 'Tis reported, that above a hundred thousand Foot were lost, and few of the Horse escaped. Of the *Romans* a hundred were wounded, and five kill'd. *Antiochus* the Philosopher making mention of this Fight, in his Book about the Gods, says, That the Sun never saw the like. *Strabo*, another Philosopher, in his Historical Collection, says, That the *Romans* could not but blush and deride themselves, for putting on Armour against such pitiful Slaves. *Livy* also says, That the *Romans* never fell upon an Enemy with so unequal Force; for by more than a twentieth part the Conquerors were less than the Conquered.

The most understanding *Roman* Captains, and expert in War, have chiefly commended *Lucullus* for conquering two great and potent Kings, by two different ways, Haste and Delay. For he broke the flourishing Power of *Mithridates* by Delay and Time, and that of *Tigranes* by Haste; being one of those rare Generals who made use of Delay for advantage, and Speed for security. Whereupon it was,
that

that *Mithridates* made no haste to come up to fight, imagining *Lucullus* would, as he had done before, use Caution and Delay, which made him march the slower to *Tigranes*: And as he met some stragling *Armenians* in the way, running in great fear and consternation, he suspected the worst, and when greater numbers of naked and wounded Men assured him of the Defeat, he sought for *Tigranes*; and finding him naked and destitute, he by no means requited him with Insolence, but lighting off his Horse, and condoling the Publick Loss, gave him a Princely Guard to attend him, and animated him for the future; and they together gathered fresh Forces about them. In the City *Tigranocerta* the *Greeks* divided from the *Barbarians*, and delivered it up to *Lucullus*, which he came and took. He seized on the Treasury himself, but gave the City to be plunder'd by the Soldiers, wherein were found eight thousand Talents of coined Money: Besides which also he distributed eight hundred Groats *per* Man, out of the Spoils. When he understood that many Players were taken in the City, which *Tigranes* invited from all Parts, for opening the Theatre which he had built he made use of them for celebrating his Triumphal Games and Spectacles. The *Greeks* he sent home, allowing them Money

ney for their Journey; the *Barbarians* also, as many as had been forced away from their own dwelling; infomuch that this one City being dissolved, many were repaired by the restitution of their former Inhabitants. By all which *Lucullus* was belov'd, as a Benefactor and Founder. Other things also prospered under him, as deserved, being more desirous of praise for Justice and Clemency, than for Feats in War; for these are due partly to the Soldiers, most of all to *Fortune*; but those are a demonstration of a gentle and liberal Soul, whereby *Lucullus* at that time, even without the help of Arms, conquered the *Barbarians*. For the Kings of *Arabia* came to him tendring what they had; and with them the *Sophenians* also submitted. But he dealt so with the *Gordyenians*, that they were willing to leave their own Habitations, and were ready to follow him with their Wives and Children; which was for this Cause: *Zarbienus* King of the *Gordyenians* (as is said) being grieved under the Tyranny of *Tigranes*, by *Appius* had secretly made Overtures of Confederating with *Lucullus*; but being discover'd, was executed and his Wife and Children perished with him, before ever the *Romans* had invaded *Armenia*. *Lucullus* forgot not this, but coming to the *Gordyenians*, made

a solemn Enterment for *Zarbienus*, and adorning the Funeral Pile with a Royal Canopy, and Gold and Spoils of *Tigranes*, he himself being present, kindled the Fire, and poured in perfumes, with the Friends and Domesticks of the Deceased, calling him his Companion, and Friend of the *Romans*, and ordered a stately Monument for him. There was a large Treasury of Gold and Silver found in *Zarbienus* his Palace, and ^{300000.} no less than three hundred Myriads of ^{measures,} Measures of Corn; insomuch that the Soldiers were provided for, and *Lucullus* was highly commended for maintaining the War at his own Charge without receiving one Groat from the Publick Treasury.

After this came an Embassage from the King of *Parthia* to him desiring Amity and Confederacy; which being readily embraced by *Lucullus*, he dispatch'd another to the *Parthian*, which discovered him to be a double minded Man, and dealing privately with *Tigranes* to take part with him, upon Condition *Mesopotamia* were delivered up to him. Which as soon as *Lucullus* understood, he resolved to pass by *Tigranes* and *Mithridates*, as Enemies well nigh subdued, and try the Power of *Parthia*, by leading his Army against them. He esteemed it a renowned act, like a Wrestler, to throw down three Kings one after another, and like an invincible

invincible Conquerour, successively to deal with three of the greatest Commanders under the Cope of Heaven. He sent therefore into *Pontus*, to the Officers with *Sornatius* writing to them to bring the Army thence, and joyn with him in this Expedition out of *Gordyene*. They found the Soldiers resty and stubborn before, but now plainly discovered their unruliness, by no manner of Intreaty or Force to be reclaim'd; for they protested and cried out, That they would stay no longer there, but go away and desert *Pontus*. Which being reported to *Lucullus*, did no small harm to the Soldiers about him, who were corrupted with Wealth and Plenty, and desirous of Ease; and hearing the boldness of the others, called them Men, and such as they ought to imitate; for the Actions which they had done, did now well deserve rest and quiet. Upon these and worse Words, *Lucullus* left off the thoughts of invading *Parthia*, and in the midst of Summer went against *Tigranes*; where passing over *Taurus*, he was astonish'd at the green Fields before him, so much the Season by reason of the cold Air is deferred. But however he went down, and putting to flight the *Armenians*, who dared to come out against him, he plundered and burnt their Villages, and seizing on the Provision designed for *Tigranes*,

granes, who was afraid of the same, reduced his Enemies to great necessity. But when he provok'd the Enemy to fight, by marching round their Camp, and burning the Country before them, he could by no means bring them out after their frequent Defeats before, he rose up and marched to *Artaxata*, the Royal City of *Tigranes*, where his Wives and Children were kept: judging that *Tigranes* would never suffer that to go without the hazard of a Battel. It is reported, that *Annibal* the famous *Carthaginian*, after the Defeat of *Antiochus* under the *Romans*, coming to *Artaxas* King of *Armenia*, instructed him in several necessary and useful things; who being taken with the pleasant and delightful Situation of that Place, then uncultivated and neglected, drew a Model of a City for the same; and bringing *Artaxas* thither, shew'd him the same, and encouraged him to build: At which the King being pleased, and desiring him to oversee the Work, erected a large and stately City, called after his own Name, and made it *Metropolis* of *Armenia*.

Tigranes would by no means suffer *Lucullus* to come upon this City, but came with his Army, and on the fourth day sat down by the *Romans*, the River *Arsania* lying between them, which of necessity

Lucullus must pass in his March to *Ar-taxata*. *Lucullus*, after Sacrifice to the Gods, as if Victory were already obtained, carried over his Army, having Twelve Bands in Front, the rest being disposed to prevent the Enemies enclosing them: For there were many choice Horse drawn up against him: In the Front stood the *Mardians* Horse-Archers, and *Iberians* with long Spears, who being the most Warlike, *Tigranes* more confided in than any other Strangers; but nothing of moment was done by them; for though they skirmished with the *Roman* Horse at a distance, they were not able to stand when the Foot came up to them; but being broken and divided on both sides, drew the Horse in pursuit after them. Though these were routed, yet *Lucullus* was afraid when he saw the Horse about *Tigranes* in good Order, and great Numbers coming upon him: Whereupon he recalled his Horse from pursuing, he himself first of all withstood the Nobles, and engaged with the best of them, as they came upon him, and before ever they came to close Fight, with the very Terror overthrew them. Of three Kings in Battel against him, *Mithridates* of *Pontus* fled away the most shamefully, being not so much as able to endure the Noise of the *Romans*. The Pursuit reach'd a long way, wherein the

Romans

Romans not only slew them all night, but took many alive, seized and carried away great Riches, with other Booty, till they were weary and left off. *Livy* says, There were more taken and destroyed in the first Battel; but in the second, those of better note. *Lucullus* being flush'd and animated hereby, determined to march into the *Uplands*, and there compleat his Conquests over the *Barbarians*; but the Winter-season coming on, contrary to his expectation, brought severe Weather, and frequent Snows, and even in the most clear Days, hard Frost and Ice; which made the Waters scarce drinkable for the Horses, by exceeding Cold; and scarce passable, for the breaking of the Ice, and cutting the Horses Sinews. The Country, for the most part, being Forest, Inclosed and Woody, made them continually wet, being covered with Snow as they Marched in the day, and sitting down in Moorish places at Night. After the Battel they followed not *Lucullus* many days, before they began to be unruly; first of all intreating, and sending the Tribunes to him; but afterwards tumultuously gathered together, and made a noise all night long, which was a plain sign of a mutinous Army. But *Lucullus* as earnestly entreated them, desiring them to have patience but till they took the *Ar-*

menian Carthage, and overturn'd the Work of that cursed Man *Annibal*. But when he could not prevail, he led them back, and by another Road over *Taurus*, came into the fruitful and pleasant Country of *Mygdonia*, where was a great and populous City, by the *Barbarians* called *Nisibis*; by the *Greeks*, *Antioch of Mygdonia*. *Gaurus*, Brother of *Tigranes*, was the Governour, *Callimachus* Overfeer of the Works and Fortifications, the same who so much annoyed the *Romans* at *Amisus*. He brought his Army to it, and laying close Siege, in a short time took it by Storm: He kindly used *Gaurus*, as he surrendred himself; but by no means hearkened to *Callimachus*, though he offered to make discovery of hidden Treasures; commanding him to be kept in Chains, to be punished for firing the City of *Amisus*, which hindred him from shewing Favour and Kindness unto the *Greeks*, as he intended.

Hitherto one would imagine Fortune attended and fought for *Lucullus*; but afterward, as if the Wind had fail'd of a sudden, he did all things by force, and as it were against the Grain; wherein he shewed the Conduct and Patience of a wise Captain; but his Actions met with no Honour or Reputation: For by bad Success and Divisions in his Army, he came with-

within a Hairs-breadth of losing what what he had before. Himself was not the least cause of all this, being no ways indulgent to his Soldiers, but one who thought all Favour shewn to them, to be a beginning of Disobedience, and Dissolution of Authority. But what was worst of all, he was naturally unfociable to his Great Officers in Commission with him, despising others, and thinking them worthy of nothing in comparison with himself. These were the Evils attending *Lucullus* his other Vertues; for he is said to have been a lusty, goodly, and eloquent Man, Wise both in Court and Camp. *Salust* says, The Soldiers were ill-affected to him from the beginning of the War, for being forced to keep the Field two Winters at *Cyzicum*, and afterwards at *Amisus*. There were other Winter-quarters that vexed, besides these; for they either were in an Enemies Country, or else confined to their Tents in the open Fields, among their Confederates; for *Lucullus* not so much as once went into a *Greek* Confederate Town with his Army. To this ill affection abroad, the Tribunes contributed at home, invidiously accusing *Lucullus*, as one who for Empire and Riches delayed the War, and under his sole Power had then got *Cilicia*, *Asia*, *Bythinia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Pontus*, *Armenia*, as far as the River

Phasis. And of late had laid waste the Kingdom of *Tigranes*, as if he had been Commissioned not so much to subdue, as destroy Kings. For this is reported to have been spoken by *L. Quintus*, one of the Prætors, at whose instance the People determined to send one who should succeed *Lucullus* in his Province, and disband most of his Army. Besides these Misdemeanours, that which most of all prejudiced *Lucullus*, was *P. Clodius*, an insolent Man, very vicious and bold, Brother to *Lucullus* his Wife, and by reason of her Incontinency shrewdly suspected of Adultery with her. Being then in the Army under *Lucullus*, but not in so great Authority as he expected; for he would fain have been of the Chief Officers, though of an inferior Rank to several of them. He got in with the *Fimbrian* Army, and stirred them up against *Lucullus*, using fair Speeches to them, who, of old, had been used to be flattered in such a manner. These were those whom *Fimbrius* before had perswaded to destroy the Consul *Flaccus*, and chose him their Leader; which made them willingly deal with *Clodius*, and call him the *Soldiers Delight*, for his Care and Concern for them. If there must be no end of Wars and Toils, but by fighting with all Nations, and wandering throughout all the World they must spend their

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their lives ; receiving no other Reward for their Service, than to guard the Carriages and Camels of Lucullus, laden with Gold and precious Goblets. As for Pompey's Souldiers, they were Citizens again, safe at home with their Wives and Children, not hunting after Mithridates, or Tigranes, in wild Deserts, nor overturning the Kingdoms of Asia, but reducing Exuls in Spain, or Fugitives at home. What, must we never have an end of Fighting ? Should we not rather reserve the Remainder of our Bodies and Souls for such a General, who will reckon his chiefeft Glory to be the Wealth of his Army ?

By such Practices the Army of *Lucullus* being corrupted, neither followed him against *Tigranes*, nor against *Mithridates*, when he returned into *Pontus* out of *Armenia*, and resumed his Kingdom ; but under pretence of Winter coming on, sat idle in *Gordyene*, every minute expecting some other General to succeed *Lucullus*. But when News came that *Mithridates* had defeated *Fabius*, and was Marching against *Sernatius* and *Triarius*, out of shame they followed *Lucullus*. *Triarius* ambitiously aiming at Victory, before ever *Lucullus* came to him, though he was then very near, was overthrown after a bloody Fight, wherein it is reported, that above Seven thousand *Romans* fell, among whom were

a Hundred and fifty Centurions, and Four and twenty Tribunes, and even the Camp it self taken. *Lucullus* coming up a few days after, concealed *Triarius* from the angry Soldiers: But when *Mithridates* declined Battel, and waited for the coming of *Tigranes*, who was then on his March with great Forces, he resolved before both joyned, once more to meet and engage with *Tigranes*. But in the way the mutinous *Fimbrians* deserted their Colours, as Men disbanded by Decree of Senate, and would no longer obey *Lucullus*, the Provinces being then allotted to others. There was nothing beneath the Dignity of *Lucullus*, which he was not forc'd to bear, entreating them, one by one, from Tent to Tent, going up and down dejected and sorrowful, and submitting to shake some by the Hands. But they turned away from his Salutes, and threw down their empty Knap-sacks, bidding him alone engage with the Enemy, who alone made advantage thereby. At length, by the intreaty of the other Soldiers, the *Fimbrians* being prevailed upon, consented to tarry that Summer under him; but even during that time, if no Enemy came to fight them, to be free. *Lucullus* of necessity was forc'd to comply with this, or else to leave the deserted Province to the *Barbarians*. He kept them indeed

indeed with him, but without any Power over them: Nor did he lead them out to Battel, being contented that they would stay with him, though he then saw *Cappadocia* wasted by *Tigranes*, and *Mithridates* again doing mischief, whom not long before he reported to the Senate to be wholly subdued: whereupon Legats were arrived to settle the Affairs of *Pontus*, as if all had been quiet there. But when they came they found him not so much as Master of himself but contemned and derided by the Common Soldiers; who arrived at that height of Insolence against their General, that at the end of Summer they put on their Armour, and drew their Swords, and defied their Enemies then absent, and gone off a long while before, with great Outcries and Aiery Skirmishes, going round the Camp, and proclaiming that the time was expired which they promised to stay with *Lucullus*. *Pompey* had drawn many to his side by Letters; by the Favour of the People, and his Interest with the Tribunes, being then chosen General of the Army against *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*. But it then appeared to the Senate, and all unbiassed Men, that *Lucullus* was injured, having those put over his Head, who succeeded rather to his Triumph, than the War; being not only deprived of Command, but the Glory which
he

he justly deserved, and forc'd to yield it to another.

Nelson ^{Nov.} It was *just matter of Pity* to those who were present; for *Lucullus* remained no longer Master of Rewards or Punishments, for Actions of War; nether would *Pompey* suffer any man to go to him, or give heed to what he did himself, or with advice of his ten Legats: but expressly gave Command to the contrary, and could not but be obey'd, by reason of his greater Power. But Friends on both sides thought it necessary to bring them together, who met in a certain Village of *Galatia*, and friendly saluted each other. *Lucullus* was the Elder, but *Pompey* the more Honourable, for his oftner Command, and two Triumphs, Both had Rods of Laurel carried before them for their Victories; and when *Pompey's* Laurels were withered, by passing through hot and droughty places, *Lucullus* his Viersgers friendly gave them some of the fresh and green ones which they had; which *Pompey's* Friends counted a good Omen, for the others Actions were they which truly adorned his Empire. At the interview they came to no amicable Agreement, but went off more dissatisfied. *Pompey* repealed all the Acts of *Lucullus*, drew off his Soldiers, and left him no more then sixteen hundred for Triumph, and even those unwilling

unwilling to go with him. So unqualified was *Lucullus*, either by Nature or Misfortune, for the chieftest thing in a General, which had he added to his other singular Virtues (his Fortitude, Vigilance, Wisdom, Justice) the *Roman* Empire had not had *Euphrates* for its Boundary in *Asia*, but the uttermost parts of the Earth, and the *Hyracanian* Sea. Other Nations being then disabled by the late Conquests of *Tigranes*, the Power of *Parthia* could not be so considerable against *Lucullus*, as it afterwards appeared against *Crassus*, being then also divided at home by Domestick and intestine War, and utterly unable to keep off the Encroachments of *Armenia*; But *Lucullus* seems more to have injured his Country by others, than he profited it by himself. For the Trophies in *Armenia* stand near the *Parthians*, and *Tigranocerta*, and *Nisibis*, and the great Wealth brought from thence to *Rome*, with the Captive Crown of *Tigranes* carried in Triumph, did all puff up *Crassus*, as if the *Barbarians* had been nothing else but Spoils and Booty: Who falling among the *Parthian* Archers soon demonstrated that *Lucullus* his Triumphs were not beholden to the Inadvertency and Effeminacy of his Enemies, but to his own Courage and Conduct. But of this afterwards. *Lucullus*, upon his return to *Rome*, found
his

his Brother *Mark* accused by *C. Memmius*, for what he did when Treasurer, by the Command of *Sylla*; who being fled, *Memmius* changed the Scene, and animated the People against him, and perswaded them to deny him a Triumph, for suppressing the Spoils, and prolonging the War. *Lucullus* his Case being much disputed, the Nobility and Chief Men mixed themselves among the Tribes, and with much Entreaty and Labour scarce at length prevailed upon them to consent to his Triumph. The Pomp of his Triumph was not amazing and tedious, as others had been, with along Train, and number of things carried therein; but consisted chiefly in vast quantities of Armour, and Machins of the King's, placed in the *Flaminian Cirque*. A Spectacle nothing despicable. In his Progress passed by a few Horsmen in Armour, ten Chariots armed with Scythes, sixty Friends and officers of the King's, and a hundred and ten long-beak'd Ships were carried along with them. The Golden Image of *Mithridates*, six Foot high, and rich Head pieces, twenty Loads of Silver Vessels, and thirty two of Golden Cups. Armour, and Money all carried by Men. Beside which, eight Mules were laden with Golden Beds, fifty six with Bullion, and a hundred and seven with

with Coined Money and Silver, little less ²⁷⁰⁰⁰⁰⁰ than two hundred and seventy Myriads. In Publick Tables were written what Monies he gave *Pompey* for prosecuting the Pyratick War, what he delivered into the Treasury, and what beside he gave to every Soldier, which was nine hundred and fifty Drachma's *per* Man: After all which, he nobly feasted the City and Suburbs. Being divorc'd from *Clodia*, a dissolute and wicked Woman, he married *Servilia* Sister to *Cato*: It proved an unfortunate Match, for she was guilty of all *Clodia's* vices but one, and that was Incest with her Brothers. Out of reverence to *Cato*, he for a while connived at her Impurity and Immodesty, but at length dismissed her. When the Senate expected great things from him as one that would be a Check to the Usurpation of *Pompey*, and by the Greatness of his Station and Credit would defend the Nobility, he retired from Business and left the Republick; either because he saw her in a languishing condition, and irrecoverable, or, as others say, because he was as great as he could well be, and inclined to a quiet and easie Life, after those Labours and Toils, which had not succeeded under him. There are those who highly commend his change of Life, avoiding thereby that Rock whereon *Marius* split:
For

For he, after his *Cimbrian* Conquest, where-
in he did Noble and Great things, would
by no means be contented with the Ho-
nour thereof, but out of an insatiable desire
of Glory and Power, even in his old Age,
managed a Faction in the Government a-
gainst the Youth, and became Guilty of
horrid crimes, and worse Murthers. Better
had it been for *Cicero*, after *Catiline's* Con-
spiracy, to have retired in his Age; and
for *Scipio*, after his *Numantine* and *Cartha-*
ginian Conquests, to have sat down con-
tented. For the Administration of publick
Affairs will determine, and States-men, as
well as Wrestlers, are laid aside, when
strength and youth fail.

Crassus, and *Pompey*, laugh'd to see *Lu-*
cullus become luxurious, and effeminate,
feasting being altogether as inconvenient
for his Age, as Government of Affairs at
home, or an Army abroad. In *Lucullus*
his Life, as in the old Comedy, we meet
with Policy, and action in the beginning;
and good eating, and drinking in the end:
And indeed scarce any thing but Feasting,
and Revellings, and Sports. Among which
I count his stately Buildings, Portico's, and
Baths; but above all his *Pictures* and *Car-*
ving, and great industry about these *Cur-*
iosities, which with vast expence he collect-
ed, lavishly bestowing all the Wealth, and
Treasure

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ν.

Treasure which he got in the War upon them: infomuch that now adays, when Luxury reins, the *Lucullian* Gardens are counted the noblest that the Emperor hath. *Tubero* the Stoick, when he saw his Buildings at *Neapolis*, where he suspended the Hills upon Arches, brought in the Sea for Moats, and Fish-ponds round his House, and built Pleasure-Houses in the Waters, called him *Xerxes in a Gown*. He had also fine Seats in *Tusculum*, pleasant Prospects, and large Apartments, and Portico's for Men; where *Pompey* coming to see him, blam'd him for making his Habitation so pleasant in Summer, but inconvenient in Winter: To whom he smilingly reply'd. Do you think I am less provident than Cranes and Storks, not to change my habitation with the season? When a *Prætor* with great charge and pains, was setting out a Spectacle to the People, and asked him to lend him some Purple hangings for the Stage, he told him he would goe home, and see, and if he had any, he would lend him; and on the next day asking how many he wanted, and being told that a hundred would suffice, ordered him to take twice as many, which made *Horace* say, "That he esteemed that a poor house where the lumber and unnecessary Utensils, are not more than the Furniture in sight."

Lucullus

Lucullus his Entertainments were every new, and extravagant, not only with Purple Carpets, and Plate adorned with Precious Stones, and Dancings, and Interludes, but for all manner of Dainties, and Sweetmeats pil'd up, which made the People admire him. It was a happy thought of *Pompey* in his Sickness, when his Physician prescribed a Thrush for his dinner, and his Servants told him, That in Summer time Thrushes where no where but in *Lucullus* his Penns, would not suffer them to fetch one thence, but told his Physician, Had not *Lucullus* fed on Thrushes, *Pompey* had not liv'd, and thereupon ordered some other thing at hand to be made ready for him. *Cato* was his Friend and Companion, but nevertheless so hated his Life, and Diet, that when a young Man in the Senate, made a long and tedious speech in praise of Frugality and Temperance, *Cato* standing up replied, Will you never have done? You who are as Rich as *Cressus*, live like *Lucullus*, and speak like *Cato*. It is plain from his own Mouth, that *Lucullus* was not only pleased with, but gloried in his way of living, for he is said to have feasted several *Greeks* upon their coming to *Rome* day after day; who out of a true *Grecian* Principal being ashamed, and refusing the invitation, where so great an expence was every

ry day caused for them, he with a pleasing Countenance told them, Some of this indeed, my *Grecian* Friends, is for your sakes, but more for *Lucullus* his own. Once, when he supped alone, there being only one table, and that but moderately furnisht, he called his Steward and reproved him; who imagining that there would be no need of any great Entertainment, when no Body was invited, was answered; *What do you not know, that to day Lucullus is to eat with Lucullus?* Which being noised about the City, *Cicero* and *Pompey* one day met him loitering in the Market-place; one a principal Friend and Acquaintance; but there had been some falling out between *Pompey* and him, about the Command of the Army, but however they used civilly to discourse, and talk together. *Cicero* saluted him, and asked him, How he stood affected to disputing? Who answering, Very well; and inviting them to it, We, said he, will eat with you, to day, if there shall be no more than what is already provided. *Lucullus* being surpris'd, and requested a days time, they refused to grant it, neither suffered him to talk with his Servants, for fear he should give order for more than what was appointed before. But thus much they consented to, that before their Faces he might tell his Servant, That to day he would sup in the *Apollo* (for

so one of his best dining Rooms was called) and, by this evasion, impos'd upon his Guests. To every Room (as it seems) was allotted a proportion of Diet, having its proper Costs and Furniture belonging to it; so that the Servants knowing where he would dine, knew also how much was to be expended, and how the Supper was to be prepared. The expence for the *Apollo* was fifty thousand pence, which being that day consumed, the greatness thereof did not so much amaze *Pompey*, as the haste in dressing. He insulted over Money, as Captive and *Barbarian*; as indeed it was. But however his furnishing a Library, deserved praise and thanks, for he collected very many, and choice Manuscripts; but the use they were put to, was more commendable than the purchase. The Library being always open, and the Walks and Schools about it free to all *Greeks*, who, from business, came thither as to the habitation of the Muses, walking about, and diverting one another. He himself often studied there, disputing with the learned in the Walks, and giving his advice to States-Men who required it, inso-much that his House was altogether a Receptacle, and a *Greek Prytaneum* to all that came to *Rome*. He understood all sorts of Philosophy, and was well read, and expert in them all. But he always favoured, and
valued

valued the Academy from the beginning. Not the new one (which at that time under *Philo* flourish'd with the Precept of *Carneades*) but the old one, then under the Government of *Ascalonites Antiochus*, a learned and eloquent Man: *Lucullus*, with great labour, made him his Friend and Companion, and set him up on purpose against *Philo's* Auditors, among whom *Cicero* was one, who Wrote an excellent Book in defence of his Sect, wherein he hath made a discourse for *Lucullus*, about apprehension contrary to his own opinion. The Book is called *Lucullus*. For, as 'tis said, they were good Friends, and acted jointly in the publick Concern. For *Lucullus* did not wholly retire from the Republick, but from Ambition, and desire of Superiority, and Greatness equally dangerous and troublesome, which he left to *Crassus*, and *Cato*. To whom the Senate, who suspected *Pompey's* greatness, joined themselves, when *Lucullus* refused to head them. For his Friends he came into the *Forum*, and into the Senate to curb the Ambition and Pride of *Pompey*; whose orders, after his Conquests over the King's, he annull'd, and by the assistance of *Cato* hindred a division of Lands to the Soldiers, which he propos'd. Which made *Pompey* go over to *Crassus*, and *Cæsars* Friendship, or rather Conspiracy, and then

by filling the City with Armed Men, to establish his Decrees by force, and drive *Cato* and *Lucullus* away. Which being resented by the Nobility, *Pompey's* party produc'd one *Vestius*, pretending they apprehended him in a design against *Pompey's* Life. Who, in the Senate-house, accused others, but among the People named *Lucullus*, as if he had been suborned by him to kill *Pompey*. No Body gave heed to what he said, and it soon appeared that they had produced a Man with a false charge, and accusation. After a few days the whole Intrigue was discover'd, the Carcase of the accuser being thrown out of Prison, reported indeed to have died a natural Death, but carrying marks of a Halter, and blows about him; and seeming rather to have been taken off by those who suborned him. These things kept *Lucullus* at a greater distance from the Republick.

But when *Cicero* left the City, and *Cato* was banished to *Cyprus*, he became altogether sottish; it is reported, that before his Death, his parts fail'd him by degrees. But *Cornelius Nepos* denies that either Age or Sicknes impair'd his Mind, which was rather doz'd by a Potion given him by *Callisthenes* his Freeman. The Potion given him by *Callisthenes*, was to endear him to him, being so prepared; but it acted quite other-

otherwise, and so disabled and intoxicated his Mind, that even while he was alive, his Brother ordered his Affairs. At his Death, which was the Death of one taken off in the very flower of Martial and Civil Discipline, the People were much concerned, and flockt together, and even by force would have taken his Corps, as it was carried into the Market-place, by young Men of the best Quality, and have Buried it in the *Martian* field, where they buried *Sylla*. Which being altogether unexpected, and Necessaries not easily to be procured on a sudden, his Brother, after much intreaty and sollicitation, prevailed upon them to suffer him to be buried in the *Tusculan* field, as was appointed. He himself surviv'd him but a small time, coming not far behind in Death, as he did in Age and Renown, being a most loving Brother.

The Comparison of *Lucullus* with *Cimon*.

ONE might bless the End of *Lucullus*, who died before the great Alteration of Affairs, which Fate by intestine Wars was bringing, on, and left this Life in a free, though troubled State, wherein, above all other things, *Cimon* and he agreed. For

he died also when the state of *Greece* was free, and flourished; though in the Field, at the Head of his Army, not recalled, nor disgraced, nor sullyng the Glory of his Wars, Engagements, and Conquests, with Feastings and Debauchés; As *Plato* reprehended *Orpheus* for saying, *That an eternal Debauch hereafter, was the Reward of those who lived well here.* Indeed ease and Quiet, and the Study of pleasant and speculative Learning, to an old Man, unfit for War or State, is a most ornamental and comfortable thing; but to misguide vertuous Actions to Pleasure, as their utmost End, and to leave the Wars for the Sports and Delights of *Venus*, did not become the gravity of the Academy, and a Follower of *Xenocrates*, but one that rather inclined to *Epicurus*. But the greatest wonder of all is, their Youthful days were flat opposite; the ones being infamous and vicious, the others well disciplin'd and sober; yet better is the Change for Good, for it argues a more ingenuous Mind, where Vice decayeth, and Vertue increaseth. Though both had great Wealth, they differently employed it; and there is no Comparison between the South-wall of the Tower built by *Cimon*, and the stately Mansions and watry Prospects at *Neapolis*, built by *Lucullus*, out of the Spoils of the *Barbarians*. Neither

ther can we compare *Cimon's* popular and numerous Table, to the Noble and Royal one of *Lucullus*, that receiving a great many Guests every day at small Expence, this being richly spread for a few *Good-Fellows*: τρυφῶντας. unless you will say that different times made the alteration. For who can tell, but that *Cimon*, if he had retired in his old age from Business and War, to Quiet and Solitude, might have liv'd a more luxurious and debauch'd Life, who was a Good-fellow, a pleasant Companion, and (as is said) a Lover of Women? But brave and generous Actions, transported with other Delights than arise from the lower Appetite, make active and heroick Men neglect and forget these. Had but *Lucullus* ended his days in the Field, Envy itself and Detraction could never have accused him. So much for their manner of Life.

In War it is plain they were both Men of excellent Conduct, both at Land and Sea. And as they honoured those Champions, who on the same day, in the same Games, were Crowned for their Mastery in all, by calling their Actions, *Wonderful Victories*; so likewise *Cimon*, honouring Greece with a Sea and Land-Victory on the same day, is worthy to be placed in the first Rank of Commanders. *Lucullus* received Command from his Country, but

Cimon brought it to his. He united the Lands of his Enemies to her, who ruled over Confederates before; but this Man taking the Power out of other Hands, made his Country both rule over Confederates, and Conquer Enemies too; forcing the *Persians* to relinquish the Sea, and the *Lacedæmonians* to submit. But if it be the chiefest thing in a General to win his Soldiers to Obedience by Gentleness; *Lucullus* was despised by his own Army, but *Cimon* was obeyed by others. Those deserted the one, these fled for Protection to the other. He came home without those Forces he led out; this Man sent out at first under the Command of others, returned home with Authority even over them also, having served his City in three difficult Negotiations, establishing Peace with the Enemy, Dominion over Confederates, and Unity with *Lacedæmon*. Both aiming to destroy great Kingdoms, and subdue all *Asia*, fail'd in their Enterprize. *Cimon* very unfortunately; for he died when General, in the height of Felicity: But *Lucullus*, no Man can excuse from a Fault to his Soldiers, whether he knew not, or would not comply with the Distaste and Complaints of his Army, which brought him into so great hatred among them. But did not *Cimon* also suffer like him in this? For the
Ci-

Citizens arraigned him, and never left till they had banished him; that, as *Plato* says, They might not hear him for the space of ten Years. For Heroick Minds seldom please the Vulgar, or are acceptable to them; for by punishing their Extravagancies, they oftentimes pinch to the quick, like Chirurgeons bands, reducing dislocated Bones to their natural position. But both of them perhaps may be cleared of this.

Lucullus very much out-went him in War, being the first *Roman* who carried an Army over *Taurus*, passed the *Tigris*, took and burnt the Royal Palaces of *Asia*, in the sight of the Kings, *Tigranocerta*, *Cabira*, *Sinope*, and *Nisibis*, subduing the North Parts as far as *Phacis*, the East as far as *Media*, and the South and Red Sea, through the Kingdoms of *Arabia*; broke the Power of Kings, and narrowly missed their Persons, who fled away like Wild Beasts into the Desarts, the thick and unpassable Woods. A Demonstration of which was, That the *Persians*, as if no great harm had beset them under *Cimon*, soon after appeared in Arms against the *Grecians*, and overcame and destroyed a great Army of theirs in *Ægypt*. But after *Lucullus*, *Tigranes* and *Mithridates* were able to do nothing: The latter being disabled and broken in the former Wars, never dared to shew his Army to
Pompey

Pompey without the Camp, but fled away to *Bosphorus*, and there died. *Tigranes* threw himself naked and unarmed down before *Pompey*, and taking his Crown from his Head, laid it at his Feet, complementing *Pompey* with what was not his own, but that which *Lucullus* had triumphed over before; and when he received the Ensigns of Majesty again, he was well pleased, because deprived before. Greater is that Commander, who, like a Wrestler, leaves an Adversary almost Conquered for his Successor; and therefore *Cimon*, at his Arrival, finding the Forces of the King dispersed, and the Minds of the *Persians* down, by their continual Overthrows and Flights under *Themistocles*, *Pausaniās*, and *Leotychides*, easily overcame their Bodies, whose Souls were dispirited and faint before. But *Tigranes*, never yet baffled in Fight, but flush'd with Success, engaged against *Lucullus*. There is no comparison between those Numbers which came against *Lucullus*, and those subdued by *Cimon*. All which things being rightly considered, it is a hard matter to give judgment: For the Gods were favourable to both Parties, directing the one what to act, and the other what to avoid; and they have thereby declared them both brave Men, and of Heavenly Extract.



NICIAS.



MBurghers sculp.

THE
LIFE
OF
NICIAS.

English'd from the *Greek*, by
Thomas Rymer, Esq;

VOLUME III.

C*Rassus*, in my Opinion, may most properly be set against *Nicias*, and the *Parthian* Disaster compared with that in *Sicily*. But then, in the first place, I must beseech the Reader, in all Courtesy, not to think that I contend with *Thucydides*, in matters so Pathetically, so Nobly, so beyond all Imitation, and even beyond himself express'd by him; nor to believe me guilty of the like folly with *Timæus*, who ^{of Timæus the Historian,} hoping, in his History, for Majesty of Style,

Style, to surpass *Thucydides*, and make *Philistius* appear a trifter and very dolt, pushes on his descriptions thorow the thickest of their main Battels, Atchievements at Sea, and Debates of Council, the most laboured, and the most accurately delineated by them, bearing up with them.

*No more, by Jove,
Than a limping Footman, to the Lydian Chariot.*

As *Pindar* has it. He shows himself all along half-lettered, a dealer in small Wares. And, according to that of *Diphilus*,

All Fat, and rowling in Sicilian Grease.

He oftentimes falls so very low, as even with *Xenarchus* to quibble; telling us, That he thought it Ominous to the Athenians, that their General who had * Victory in his Name, refused to Command in the Expedition: And that from the defacing of the † *Hermæ*, some God foretold they should very much suffer in War, by *Hermocrates* the Son of *Hermon*. And moreover, how 'twas likely, that *Hercules* would aid the *Syracusians*, for the * Maiden's sake, by whose means he took *Cerberus*, but would be angry with the Athenians for protecting the *Egesteans*, descended from

* *Nicias*.

† Images of
Mercury.

* *Proserpina*.

from Trojan Ancestors, when as he for an injury of their King Laomedon, had Sack't their City. But this Author peradventure, chose to write these things out of the same abundant consideration, and Wisdom, as he finds fault with the Language of *Philistus*; and carps at every where what he meets with in *Plato* and *Aristotle*.

This sort of contention, and vying with others in matter of Style, in my mind, at the best, looks very little, and shows the certain Spirit of a *Pedant*; but in things unimitable is intolerable.

Such actions therefore as *Thucydides* and *Philistus* have related, seeing they are not to be past by, especially those that discover the Genius of the Man, and his disposition, which under his many and great troubles lay concealed, those I say, that I may not seem altogether negligent, I shall briefly run over; and such things as are not vulgarly known, and lie scattered here and there, in other Mens Writings, or are found amongst the old Monuments and Archieves, I shall endeavour to bring together; not huddling up an impertinent Story, but delivering what may make his disposition and temper understood.

First of all, I would premise what *Aristotle* has written concerning *Nicias*, That there had been three good Citizens eminent
above
Three eminent Citizens.

above the rest for their Fatherly Affection and love to the People, *Nicias the Son of Niceratus*, *Thucydides the Son of Milesius*, and *Theramenes the Son of Agnon*; but the last less than the others; for his mean extraction, was cast in his Teeth, as a Forreigner from *Céos*, and his unconstancy, siding sometimes with one Party, sometimes with another, in the Commonwealth, made him be Nick-named the * *Buskin*.

* Theramenes Corthurnus.

Thucydides was the foremost in time, he on the behalf of the Nobility, stiffly opposed *Pericles*, who cajol'd the Commons.

Nicias came after, yet was in some reputation even whilst *Pericles* lived; insomuch as to be in joint-Commission with him, and many times to be General alone; but *Pericles* dying, he presently rose to the highest preferments, chiefly by the favour of the Nobility, who set him for their Bulwark against the Presumption and Insolence of *Cleon*; yet withal, he held the good Will of the Commons, who likewise contributed to his advancement. For tho *Cleons* interest ran very high by his caressing the Old Men, and by his frequent Dole to the Poor; yet even they, whom he practised upon for their Favour, beholding the Avarice, the Arrogance, and the Presumption of the Man, stood many of 'um for *Nicias*.

For

For his was not that sort of Gravity, which is over harsh or odious, but tempered with a certain awful Respect and Deference, winning upon the People, by seeming affraid of them. And being naturally Diffident and Timorous, in feats of War, his good Fortune supplied his want of Courage, and kept it from being detected, his Enterprizes proving always successful. But his Timorousness, in point of Government, and his huge dread of Informers, tended very much to conciliate the good will of the People; and gave him no small Power over them: They being fearful of one that despises them, but promoting him that pays them Reverence; for their greatest Honour, from their Betters, is not to be Contemned.

Pericles, who by solid Virtue, and the pure dint of Eloquence ruled the Commonwealth, stood in need of no disguise, nor wheadling with the People; which Talents *Nicias* wanting, but abounding in Riches, with these he was faine to truck for Popularity.

Neither was he made with the Nimble Wit of *Cleon*, so as by breaking Jest, and playing the Droll to tickle the *Athenians*; therefore being unprovided of such like Qualities, he treated the People with Dances and Games, and other publick Shows,
more

more Sumptuous and more Splendid, than had been ever known in his, or in former Ages.

Amongst his Works of *Devotion* there was Extant, even in our days, a Shrine of *Minerva* in the Cittadel, having lost the Gold that covered it: And a Temple in that of *Bacchus* under the *Tripods*, that were presented by those at the publick Games, who won the Prize: For at these Games he had often carried off the Prize, and never once failed.

'Tis reported, that at one of these publicks Shows, a Slave of his past along in Masquerade, personating *Bacchus*, Fair and Goodly to behold, nor yet any Beard upon his Chin; The *Athenians* pleased with the sight, and hopping a long time, *Nicias* stood up, and said, *He held it impious to keep any Body for a Slave, who had publickly been likened to a God.* And forthwith he set the young Man free.

*Nicias's
Acts of de-
votion.*

His performances at *Delos* are remembred, as Noble and Magnificent Works of *Devotion*. For whereas the *Choras* which the Cities had sent to sing Anthems to the God, were wont to arrive all in Confusion; the Rabble coming presently to meet the Ship, and crying to 'um to sing: And they out of haste, debarking in disorder, and making a Clutter, some for their Garlands, some for

for their Surplices. Now he being to Con-
voy the *Chorus*, shipt them over to *Rhenia*,
together with the Sacrifice, and other Holy
Appurtenances. And moreover, took along
with him from *Athens*, a Bridge ready
fitted for the purpose, and Curiously adorn-
ed with Manufactures of Gold, and with
Pictures and Garlands, and Tapestries; this he
joyned together in the Night over the Chan-
nel, betwixt *Rhenia* and *Delos*, being no great
distance: And presently by break of day
he marcht forth with all the Provision to
the God, and led the *Chorus* with all their
Ornaments in exquisite Order, singing all
along over the Bridge.

The Sacrifices, the Games, and the Feast
being over, he set up a Palm-Tree of Brass
for a present to the God, and bought a
parcel of Land with ten thousand Drach-
ma's, which he Consecrated; with the
Revenue the Inhabitants of *Delos* were to Sa-
crifice, and to Feast, and to pray the Gods
for *many good Things* to *Nicias*. This he in-
graved on a Pillar, which he left in *Delos*
to be a Record of his Request. This same
Palm-tree, afterwards broken down by the
Wind, fell on the huge Statue which the
Men of *Naxos* had presented, and beat it
to the Ground.

'Tis very plain, that much of this looks
like Vain-glory, and shews a strong affecta-

tion of Popularity and Applause : Yet from other Qualities and Carriage of the Man, one might believe all this Cost and Magnificence to be purely the Effect of his Devotion : For he was one of those who dreaded the Divine Powers extreamly, and (as *Thucydides* informs us) was *moap'd with Godliness*. In one of *Pasiphon's* Dialogues 'tis written, That he daily sacrificed to the Gods, and keeping a Divine at his House, he pretended to be consulting always about the Commonwealth ; whereas for the most part he enquired only of his private Affairs, more especially concerning his Silver Mines : For he possess'd many, and of great avail, in the *Lauriotick* Ground ; but wrought them not without hazard. He maintained there a multitude of Slaves, and his Wealth consisted chiefly in Silver ; whereby he had many Retainers, and many Hangers-on about him, craving and having ; for he gave to them who could do him mischief, no less than to those who deserved well of him. In short, his Fear made a Rent-charge for the Rogues, and his Humanity for Honest Men. Of these things we have Testimony, even in our Comedies ; for *Teleclides* brings in an Informer, saying thus :

His Timorousness.

Trotk,

*Troth, Charicles refus'd to give five Mark,
Lest it be said that he (an Elder Brother)
Came first of all from out his Mother's Fob :
But Nicias, Niceratus's Son,
Gave twenty Mark : Wherefore ! Tho well
I know, I say not ;
He is a Friend, and Wise, if I mistake
not.*

And he who is brought in by *Eupolis* (in
his *Maricas*) representing a good simple
Poor Man :

How long (Friend) since thou last saw Informer:
Nicias ?

I saw him not, save lately standing in the Poor man,
Streets.

The Man confesses that he saw Nicias. Informer;

*And what the wiser he for seeing him, unless
he had a Spell from him ?*

*You have heard (Companions) Nicias taken
in the very Fact.*

Think you (ye Sots) to take a good Man in Author:
any Crime ?

Cleon, in Aristophanes, threatning, says,

*I'll throttle their fine Speakers, and make
Nicias all agast.*

Phrynichus represents him wanting Courage, and ready to be scar'd out of his Senses, in these Verses :

*Good Man was he (that very well I know)
And never did, like Nicias, trembling go.*

Reserved-
ness.

So afraid he was of Informers, and so reserved, that he neither would venture to eat with any Citizen, nor to have ordinary Discourse with them, nor any Conversation nor Pastime whatsoever. Nor indeed had he any leisure for those Diversions. When he was *Archon*, he staid in Court till night, was the first upon the Bench, and the last that left it. And if no Publick Business took up his time, yet was it very hard to have Access, or to speak with him, he being retir'd at home, and lock'd up. And when any came to the Door, some Friend of his gave them good words, and *begg'd their Pardon, for that Nicias was then very busie, certain Affairs of State and the Publick lay heavy upon him.*

Who principally acted this Part for him, and contributed most what to his Pride and Vanity in this matter, was *Hieron*, a Man educated in *Nicias's* Family, and instructed by him in Letters and Musick : He pretended to be the Son of *Dionysius* surnamed *Chalcus*, whose Poems are yet extant,

tant, and who was Governour of a Colony that planted in *Italy*, and built *Thurii*.

This *Hieron* also transacted all the Secrets for *Nicias* with the Divines; and gave out in Speeches to the People, *What a tedious and miserable Life he led, for the sake of the Commonwealth.* He (said *Hieron*) can never be at quiet, neither at the Bath, nor at his Meat, but some Publick Care seizes him: Careless and negligent of his own, zealous for the Publick Good; scarce ever going to Bed, till after that others have had their first sleep: So that his Health is impaired, and his Body wasted: Neither chearful nor affable with his Friends, but abandons them, together with his own Concerns, for the Publick. Other Men make Friends by being in Office, enrich themselves, fare deliciously, and play with the Government.

And this truly was *Nicias* his manner of Life; so that well might he apply to himself that of *Agamemnon*,

With Pageantries and Pomp, the World I brave;

Tet, in effect, am but the Peoples Slave.

He observed, That the People, in a Man of Eloquence, or of eminent Parts and Ability, made use of his Talent to serve their Occasions; but were always jealous, and

held a watchful Eye upon his Power, curbing and breaking it, and taking down his Authority and Reputation. This was manifest in their Condemnation of *Pericles*, their Banishment of *Damon*, their Distrust of *Antiphon* the *Rhamnusian*, but especially in the Case of *Laches*, that took *Lesbos*, who giving an Account of his Conduct, in the very Court of Justice unsheathed his Sword, and slew himself.

His caution.

On these Considerations *Nicias* declined all difficult, and all little Enterprises : Or if he took a Command, he was for doing what was safe. Thus, 'tis likely, he had for the most part Success; which he did not attribute to any Wisdom, Conduct, or Courage of his own, but (to avoid Envy) he thank'd Fortune for all, and gave God the Glory. This the Actions themselves testify ; for at that time there hapned many and terrible Shocks to the City of *Athens*, yet had not he a hand in any of them. The *Athenians* were routed in *Thrace* by the *Chalcedonians*, *Calliades*, and *Xenophon* Commanding in Chief : *Demosthenes* was the General when they received the Blow in *Ætolia* : At *Delos* they lost a Thousand Citizens, under the Conduct of *Hippocrates* : The Plague was principally laid to the charge of *Pericles*, he having shut up close together in the Town, a Crowd

of
61

of Country-Fellows for the War, who, by the change of Place, and their unusual Course of Living, bred the Pestilence.

Nicias stood clear of all this; and by his Conduct was taken *Cythera*, an Island most commodious against *Laconia*, and held by the *Lacedæmonians*: Many Places likewise in *Thrace*, which had revolted, he took and subdued: He, shutting up the *Megareans* within their Town, seized upon the Isle *Minos*; and soon after, marching swiftly from thence to *Nisæa*, made himself Master there; then, making a Descent upon the *Corinthian* Territory, he overcame in Battle, and slew a great number of the *Corinthians*, with their Captain *Lycopheon*. *His Success.*

There it hapned that two of his Men were left, by an oversight, when they carried off the Dead; which when he understood, he made an Halt, and sent an Herald to the Enemy for leave to carry off the Dead; though by a certain Law and Custom, he that by a Truce craved leave to carry off the Dead, seemed to quit the Victory: Nor was it lawful for him that did this, to erect a Trophy; for his is the Victory, who is Master of the Field, and he is not Master who asks leave, as wanting Power to take. But he chose rather to renounce his Victory and his Glory, than to let two Citizens lie unburied.

He scowred the Coast of *Laconia* all along, and beat the *Lacedæmonians* that made Head against him. He took *Thyræa*, Garrison'd by the *Arginetans*, and carried the Prisoners to *Athens*.

When *Demosthenes* had fortified *Pylus*, and the *Peloponnesians* brought together all, both their Sea and Land Forces, before it, after the Fight, about the number of Four hundred Native *Spartans* were left ashore in the Isle *Sphaacteria*: Now the *Athenians* thought it a brave Exploit (as indeed it was) to take these Men Prisoners. But the Siege, in places that wanted Water, being very difficult and untoward; and to convoy the vast necessaries about by Sea, in Summer, tedious and vastly chargeable, in Winter doubtful, or plainly impossible; this grieved them, and they repented their having rejected the Ambassy of the *Lacedæmonians*, that had been sent to treat a Peace and League with them: Which was done at the Importunity of *Cleon*, who opposed it, chiefly out of a Pique to *Nicias*: For, being his Enemy, and observing him to labour a Compliance with the *Lacedæmonians*, he perswaded the People to break off the Treaty.

Cleon.

Now therefore that the Siege held long, and they heard of the dismal Extremities that press'd their Army, they grew enraged against

against *Cleon* ; but he turns all the blame upon *Nicias*, charging it on his Softness and Cowardice, that the besieged Escap'd : *Were I the General* (quoth he) *they should not hold out so long.* The *Athenians* presently replied , *Why then do not you go with a Squadron against them ?* And *Nicias* standing up resigned his Command at *Pylos* to him, and bids him *take what Forces he pleased along with him, and not swagger with Words, out of harms way, but go forth and perform some memorable Service for the Common-wealth.*

Cleon, at the first shrunk back, startled with the surprize, but the *Athenians* Commanding, and *Nicias* lowdly upbraiding him, he, so provoked, and fired with Ambition , took upon him the Charge ; and said farther, That *once within Twenty days after he embark'd, he would either kill the Enemy upon the place, or bring them alive to Athens.* This the *Athenians* were readier to laugh at, than to believe, for on other occasions, his Flashes and Extravagances used to make them sport, and were pleasant enough.

As for Instance, 'tis reported that once when the People were assembled, and had waited his coming a long time, at last he enters with a Garland on his Head , and prays them to Adjourn to the next day, *For* (quoth

(quoeth he) *I am not at leisure to day, I have Sacrificed to the Gods, and am to Feast my Strangers.* Whereat the *Athenians* laughing, rose up, and dissolved the Assembly: However, at this time he had the lucky hit, and Commanded so Gallantly, in Conjunction with *Demosthenes*, that within the time he had limited, he carried Captive to *Athens* all the *Spartans* that had not fall'n in Battel.

This brought an horrible Disgrace on *Nicias*; for this was not to throw away his *Shield*, but something more foul and Ignominious, to quit his Charge voluntarily out of Cowardice, and by yielding up his Command, of his own accord, to put into his Enemies hand the opportunity of Atchieving so brave an Action.

Aristophanes has a fling at him on this occasion, in his *Birds*, saying thus,

*No time, by Jove, is left for us to snort in,
Nor to be restif like Nicias. —*

In his *Husbandmen*, he says thus,

A. *I VVou'd be telling.* B. *VVell, And who hinders thee?*

A. *Tou, yet wou'd I give an Hundred Marks*

That

That you wou'd rid my hands of the Charge.

B. Content, with those of Nicias they will make Two hundred.

Besides all this, he did a vast prejudice to the City, by suffering the Accession of so great Reputation and Power to *Cleon*; whereby he assumed that Turbulent Spirit, and unbridled Impudence, and opened the Door for greater Mischief to the Common-wealth; whereof a sufficient part fell to his own share: For now *Cleon* banish'd away all Decorum from the Pulpit, and first of all broke out into Exclamations, flung open his Cloak, smote his Thigh, and ran up and down whilst he was speaking, which soon after introduced amongst those who managed the Affairs of State, such License and Contempt of decency, as brought all into Confusion.

Now also grew up at *Athens*, *Alcibiades*, Alcibiades. such another Common-wealth-Man, tho not altogether so unruly. But as the Land of *Egypt*, which through the Richness of the Soyl, is said,

Great Plenty to produce, (*ly Fuyce.*
Both wholesome Herbs, and Drugs of dead-

So the Nature of *Alcibiades*, was strong and luxuriant in both kinds; and made way for

a great many Innovations. Whereby it fell out, that after *Nicias* had got his hands clear of *Cleon*, yet had he not opportunity to settle the City perfectly in quietness. For having brought Matters to a pretty fair pass, all was dash'd and plung'd again into Confusion by *Alcibiades*, through the Wildness and Extravagance of his Ambition; and he embroyled again in War worse than ever. Which fell out thus.

They who principally hindred the Peace, were *Cleon* and *Craſidas*; War setting off the Vertue of the one, and hiding the Villainy of the other; it gave to the one occasions of Atchieving brave Actions, to the other of Committing enormous Crimes. Now when these two were in one Battel both slain near *Amphipolis*; *Nicias* having perceived that the *Spartans* had long been desirous of a Peace, and that the *Athenians* had no great Stomach to the War; both being alike tyred, and (as it were by consent) laying down their Arms: He therefore in this nick of time, employs all his Might to make a Friendship betwixt these two Cities, and to deliver the other States of *Greece* from the Evils and Calamities they laboured under, and so establish their Happiness to after Ages. He found the Men of Substance, the Aged Men, and the Husbandmen generally all inclined to
Peace;

Peace; besides many others, by discouraging in private, and by Informing them, he brought over, to be not so very Keen for a War. Whereupon he now encouraged the Hopes of the *Lacedæmonians*, counselled them, and put them upon it to seek Peace. They confided in him, as being on other Occasions, a moderate Man; and because of his Kindness and tender Care over the Prisoners, taken at *Pylos*, and in Chains, making their Misfortune the more easie upon them.

The *Athenians* and the *Spartans* had before this, concluded amongst themselves, a Cessation for a Year, whereby conversing with one another, they tasted again the sweetness of Peace and Security; and mingling together Familiars and Strangers, they wisht an end of that fighting and Blood-shed. And with delight heard the *Chorus* sing such as this,

*Rest my Launce, and no man mind thee,
Till around the Cobwebs bind thee.*

And with joy remembred that saying,
*They who sleep in peace, are awaked by the
Cocks-Crow, not by the Trumpet.* And on the same score they curst and kickt them out of Company, who said that the *Fates*

de-

decreed this to be a War of thrice nine Tears.

It followed afterwards, that all points having been debated, they made a Peace. And most People thought, now, indeed they had got an end of all their Evils: And *Nicias* was in every Man's mouth, as one especially beloved of the Gods, who for his Piety and Devotion, had given him to bear the same Name with the fairest and greatest of all Blessings; For in Truth, they called the Peace *Nicias's work*, as the War *the Work of Pericles*: Because on very light occasions he seemed to have plunged the *Grecians* into very great Calamities: Whereas *Nicias* perswaded them to forget the highest injuries, that they might be Friends: Wherefore they call that to this day *the Nician Peace*.

The Articles being, that the Garrisons and Towns, taken on either side, and the Prisoners should be restored, and they to restore the first to whom it should fall by Lot; now (as *Theophrastus* tells us) *Nicias* secretly purchas'd with Money the Lot for the *Lacedæmonians* to deliver the first.

Afterwards when the *Corinthians* and the *Bæotians* shewed their dislike of what was done, and by their Complaints and Accusations well nigh brought back again the War upon them, *Nicias* perswaded the *Athe-*
nians

nians and the *Lacedæmonians*, besides the Peace, to make a League offensive and defensive, which would be such a tie and strength to them, as should make them more Terrible to those that held out, and be the firmer to each other.

Whilst these matters were on Foot, *Alcibiades*, who was not of an Humour to be quiet, and who hated the *Lacedæmonians*, because of their Applications to *Nicias*, and that they attended him, but overlookt and despised *Alcibiades*. Yet from first to last, he heartily opposed the Peace, tho' all in vain. Till some time afterwards, finding that the *Lacedæmonians* did not altogether come up to please the *Athenians*, but seemed to do them Injustice in having made a League offensive and defensive with the *Bæotians*, and had not observed the Agreement so fully in the delivery of *Penactus*, nor yet of *Anthipolis*, he laid hold on these Occasions for his purpose, and from every trifle instigated the People. At the length taking aside the Ambassadors of the *Argives*, he endeavoured to bring them over into a Confederacy with the *Athenians*.

But afterwards when the *Lacedæmonian* Ambassadors were come with full Powers, and at their first Audience by the Council, they seemed to come in all Points,
with

with just Proposals: He, fearing that the People would be drawn to be of their Mind, Circumvented the Ambassadors, topping upon them, and swearing that he was ready to assist them in all things, provided that they would not confess that they came with *full Powers*, that being the only way for them to attain their Desires.

They being over-perswaded, and decoyed from *Nicias*, to follow him, he Presented them to the *Assembly*, and asked them presently whether or no they came in all Points with *full Powers*, which when they denied, he, contrary to their Expectation, changing his Countenance, called the Council to witness their Words and now bids the People, *Beware how they trust, or transact any thing with such manifest Lyars: Who now affirm this, now the quite contrary of the very same thing.* These *Plenipotentiaries* (as well-they might) being astonished at this, and *Nicias* at a loss what to say being struck with Amazement and Wonder, the *Assembly* resolved to send away immediately for the *Argives*, to strike up a League with them. But an Earth-quake, which interrupted and brake the *Assembly*, made for *Nicias's* advantage: For the next day the People being again assembled, after, many Speeches, and great Canvassing and Solliciting, with much ado he brought it about
that

that the Treaty with the *Argives*, should be deferred, and he be sent to the *Lacedæmonians*, he promising that so all would go well.

When he arrived at *Sparta*, they received him there as a good Man, and one well-inclined towards them; yet he effected nothing, but overcome by them that favoured the *Bæotians*, he returned home, not only Dishonoured, and hardly spoken of, but likewise in fear of the *Athenians*: who were vexed and enraged, that through his Perswasions they had let go so many, and so considerable Persons; for they who had been brought from *Pylos*, were of the chiefest Families of *Sparta*, and had the highest there in Place and Power, for their Friends and Kindred.

Ambassy to Sparta.

Yet did they not in their heat proceed against him, otherwise than that they chose *Alcibiades* their General, and took the *Mantineans* and *Eleans* (who had revolted from the *Lacedæmonians*) into the League, together with the *Argives*: And sent to *Pylos* *Free-Booters* to infest *Laconia*, whereby the War began to break out afresh.

But the Enmity betwixt *Nicias* and *Alcibiades*, running higher and higher, and the time at hand for decreeing the *Ostracism* (or *Ostracism*, Banishment for ten Years, which the Peo-

ple putting the Name in a *Shell*, were wont to inflict at certain times, on some Person suspected, or otherwise envied for his Popularity or Wealth) on which occasion very much Trouble and Danger attended them both, one of them (in all likelihood) being to undergo this *Ostracism*, for the People did abominate the Life of *Alcibiades*, but stood in fear of his Boldness and Resolution ; as is shewn particularly in the History of him.

Then for *Nicias*, his Riches made him envied, and besides more especially, his course of Life seemed neither Popular nor Civil, but reserved, unsociable, and austere. And now because he strongly (against the Grain) opposed their Inclinations, forcing them against their Interest, they hated him.

To speak plainly, it was a Contest of the young Men and Soldiers of Fortune, against the men of Years, and Lovers of Peace, they turning the *Ostracism* upon the one, these upon the other.

*Into Divisions when the People fall,
The choice oft lights on the worst Man of all.*

As now it happened, that the City distracted into two Factions, preferred the most impudent and profligate Persons : Amongst whom

whom was *Hyperbolus* of *Perithus*. A fellow not presuming from any Power, but from his Presumption rising into Power; and by the Honour he found in the City, becoming the Scandal of it.

He at this time thought himself far enough from the *Ostracism*, as more properly deserving the Gallows, and made account that one of these men being dispatched out of the way, he might be able to Bandy against the other that should be left; he openly shew'd himself to rejoyce at the Dissention, and stirred the People against both of them. *Nicias* and *Alcibiades*, perceiving his Malice, did secretly combine together, and setting both Interests jointly at work, did prevail that neither of them both, but even *Hyperbolus* should undergo the *Ostracism*.

This indeed at the first made sport, and raised Laughter amongst the People, but afterwards they took it in great Indignation, as having injured the thing by so unworthy a Fellow, there being a kind of Honour in this Punishment; looking upon the *Ostracism* as a Punishment rather for *Themistocles*, *Aristides*, and such like Persons. But for *Hyperbolus* 'twas a Glory, and a fair Pretence for him to boast, when for his Villainy he suffered the same with the best Men: As *Plato* the Comick Poet said of him,

*He suffers what was for ill manners fit,
Unfit for him, unfit for branded Villains,
Ostracism was not meant for such as he.*

And in Fact, none ever afterwards suffered this sort of Banishment, but *Hyperbolus* was the last. *Hipparchus* the *Cholargian* (who was of kin to the Tyrant) was the first.

There is no judgment to be made of Fortune; 'tis not to be comprehended by reason: For if *Nicias* had run the risk with *Alcibiades* whether of the two should undergo the *Ostracism*, he had either prevailed, and (his Rival expelled the City) he had remained secure; or being overcome, he had avoided the utmost Disasters, and preserved the Reputation of a most excellent Commander.

I am not ignorant that *Theophrastus* says, *Hyperbolus* was banish'd; *Phæax*, not *Nicias*, contesting it with *Alcibiades*; but most Authors differ from him.

When the *Egestan* and *Leontin* Ambassadors arrived, and perswaded the *Athenians* to make War upon *Sicily*, *Nicias* opposed them, but was run down by the Perswasions and Ambition of *Alcibiades*; who even before the People could be assembled, entertained and corrupted them with Hopes
and

and with Speeches; insomuch that the young Men at their Sports, and the old Men in their Porches, and sitting together on the Benches, would be drawing Maps of *Sicily*, and making Charts, describing the Seas, the Harbors, and Places that this Isle shews opposite to the *African Shore*: For they made not *Sicily* the end of the War, but the Magazine from whence they might carry it to the *Carthaginians*, and be Masters of *Africk*, and of all the Seas, even to *Hercules's Pillars*.

Now therefore the Bulk of the People pressing this way, *Nicias's* Party, who opposed them, was neither many, nor of much Interest; for the Men of Substance (fearing lest they should seem to decline the Publick Charges, and Ship money) were quiet, against their Inclination, yet was not he tired, nor gave off; but when the *Athenians* decreed a War, and chose him in the first place General, together with *Alcibiades* and *Lamachus*, when they were again assembled, he stood up, dissuaded them, and protested against the War; and impeach'd *Alcibiades*, charging him with going about to involve the City in Foreign Dangers and Difficulties, merely out of respect to his private Lucre and Ambition. Yet it came to nothing: For *Nicias*, because of his Experience, was look'd upon as the fit-

Nicias gain'd the War.

ter for the Employment; his Wariness, with the Bravery of *Alcibiades*, and the mildness of *Lamachus*, all mix'd together, promis'd great Security, and very much promoted the Suffrages: So that *Demostratus* (who, of the leading Men, chiefly press'd the *Athenians* to the Expedition) stood up and said, *He would stop the Mouth of Nicias from urging any more Excuses*; and thereupon mov'd that the Generals might have absolute Power, both at home and abroad, to Order and to Act what they list. And this he got pass'd into a Law.

However, the Priests are said to have very earnestly oppos'd this Enterprize. But *Alcibiades* had his Divines of another Cut, who from some old Prophecies foretold the *Athenians* to get great renown from Sicily. And certain Pilgrims came back to him from *Jupiter Ammon*, with Oracles importing that the *Athenians* should take all the *Syracusians*.

Prodigies.

They who knew any thing that boded ill, concealed it, lest they might seem to fore-speak ill Luck; for even Prodigies that were obvious and plain, would not deter them; nor the defacing of the *Hermæ*, all in one Night maimed, save only that one, called the *Herma* of *Andocides*, erected by the *Ægean* Tribe, placed then directly before the House of *Andocides*, nor what was per-

perpetrated on the Altar of the *twelve Gods*, where a certain man leapt suddenly upon the Altar, and then turning round, with a stone cut off his Privities. Likewise at *Delphos* there stood a Golden Image of *Minerva* in a Palm-tree of Brass, erected by the City of *Athens*, for the Spoils they won from the *Medes*; this was peckt at several days together by Crows flying upon it, and they pluckt off the Fruit of the Palm-tree, which was Gold, and threw it down. But the *Athenians* said, *these were all but Tricks of the Delphians, corrupted by the Men of Syracule.*

And a certain Oracle requiring them to bring from *Clazomene* a She-priest of *Minerva* (whom they now sent for) named *Hesychia*, that is to say, *Quietness*, hereby, 'tis likely, the Divine Powers advised the City at this time to be quiet.

Whether therefore the Astrologer *Me-* Meron.
ton feared these Presages, or that from Humane reason he doubted the Success (for he was appointed a Commander) he feigning himself mad, set his house on fire. Others say, he did not counterfeit himself mad, but set his house on fire in the Night, and the next Morning went into the Court in woful plight, and beseeched the People in Consideration of the sad Disaster, to release his Son from the Service, who was about

to go Captain of a Gally for *Sicily*.

Socrates
his genius.

Moreover the *Genius* of the Wise *Socrates*, by the usual Tokens, revealed all this to him, and that this Expedition would prove the Ruin of the Common-wealth; the which he imparted again to his Friends and Familiars, and afterwards it spread about amongst the People.

And not a few were troubled, because of the days on which the Fleet set Sail, it hapning to be at that time when the Women celebrated the Funeral of *Adonis*; there being every where then exposed to view Images of dead Men, carried about with Mourning and Lamentation, and Women beating their Breasts: So that such as lay any streis on these Matters, were extremely troubled; and feared lest that all these Warlike Preparations, so Splendid and so Glorious, should suddenly, in a little time be blasted, and come to nothing.

Now for *Nicias*, in that he opposed the Voting of this Expedition, and neither was puffed up with Hopes, nor transported with the Honour of his high Command, he shew'd himself Wise, and a man of Constancy: But when his endeavours could not divert the People from the War, nor get leave himself to be discharged of the Command, but the People, as it were, violently forced him against his Will, to be their General,

neral, this was no longer now a time for his mighty Caution, and his Delays, or for him (even like a Child) to look back from the Ship, often repeating, and reflecting over and over again, how that *he had not been over-ruled by Reasons*, thereby blunting the Courage of his Fellow-Commanders, and losing the nick of time for Action. VWhereas he ought presently to have rusht upon the Enemy, brought the matter to an issue, and thrown all upon Fortune immediately.

But when *Lamachus* had counsell'd to Sail directly to *Syracuse*, and give the Enemy Battel under their City-Walls : And *Alcibiades* advised to cut off their Communication with the other Towns, and then to march against them ; *Nicias* dissented from them both, and stiffly insisted that they should Cruise around the Island, and alarm the Coasts, and having Landed a small supply of men for the *Egesteans* , return to *Athens*. Thus he distracted their Counsels, and cast down the Spirits of the men.

And a little while after, (the *Athenians* having called home *Alcibiades* in Order to his Tryal) he being, though joyned with another in Commission, in effect the only General, made now no end of Loytering, of Cruising , and Considering , till their hopes were grown stale, and all the Disorder

der and Consternation which the first approach and view of their Forces had cast amongst the Enemy was worn off, and had left them.

VVhilst yet *Alcibiades* was with the Fleet, they went before *Syracuse* with a Squadron of sixty Gallies, fifty of them were kept in Battalia without the Haven, the other ten forced their way in to make discovery. And by an Herald they demanded the *Leontins* to be sent home.

These scouts took a Gally of the Enemies, wherein they found certain Tablets, on which was set down a List of all the *Syracusians*, according to their Tribes. These were wont to be laid up remote from the City, in the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius*, but were now brought forth to furnish a Muster-Roll of young Men for the War. These being so taken by the *Athenians*, and carried to the Officers, and the multitude of Names appearing, the Divines put an ill Construction upon't, as if hereby were fulfill'd the Old Prophecy, *That the Athenians shall take all the Syracusians*. Yet indeed this was said to be accomplisht by the *Athenians* at another bout, that time when *Callippus* the *Athenian* having slain *Dion*, held *Syracuse*.

But when *Alcibiades* and a few with him were shipt off from *Sicily*, the Command

mand fell wholly to *Nicias* ; for *Lamachus* Lamachus handled his Weapon in fight with great Dexterity, was stout, and very honest, yet so extremely Poor and Low, that as often as the *Athenians* bestowed on him a Command, he would always to their Account, bring some little reckoning or other of Money for his very Cloaths, and Shooes to his Feet. On the Contrary, *Nicias*, as in other matters, in Riches and Ostentation carried it high,

'Tis said, that once upon a time, the chief Magistrates being in Consultation together, he bid *Sophocles* the Poet speak his Opinion first, as the Ancientest Magistrate. *I* (quoth he) *am indeed before you in Years, but you are the first in Authority and Honour.*

So here having *Lamachus*, that better understood Military Affairs, at under ; and evermore delaying and dodging, and faintly employing his Forces : First, his Sailing about *Sicily*, at the greatest distance, aloof from the Enemy ; then afterwards besieging *Hyble*, a small pitiful Town, and drawing off before he could take it, rendered him extremely despicable ; at the length he retreats to *Catana*, without having achieved any thing, save that he demolish't *Hyccara*, a little poor quarter of the *Barbarians*, where 'tis reported that *Lais* the Harlot,

lot, whilst yet a Maiden, was sold amongst the other Slaves, and carried thence away to *Peloponnesus*.

But when the Summer was spent, after that it was noised about that the *Syracusians* were grown so Cock-a-hoop, that they would come, and first attack him : And the Troopers skirmishing to the very Camp, twitted them, asking, *Whether they came to Pension with the Cataneans ? Or they came to put again the Leontins in Possession of their Houses ?* Now it was, that with much ado *Nicias* resolved to sit down before *Syracuse*.

And to the end he might safely and without Molestation form his Camp, he sent a Man, as a Renegade from *Catana*, with Intelligence to the *Syracusians*, *That they might seize the Athenian Camp void of Men, and all their Arms, if they on such a day march with all their Forces to Catana : And, That the Athenians living mostwbat in the Town, the Friends of the Syracusians had contrived, so soon as they should perceive them coming, to possess themselves of one of the Gates, and to fire the Navy ; that many now were in the Conspiracy, and waited their Arrival.*

Nicias show'd good Conduct in this only Instance of all the *Sicilian Expedition* ; for having drawn away all the strength of
the

the Enemy, and made the City quite destitute of Men, he set out from *Catana*, he entred the Haven, and he chose a fit place for his Camp, where the Enemy could not incommode him, with that wherein lay their Excellency ; but in those things wherein he had the Advantage, he might expect to maul them without impediment.

When the *Syracusians* returned from *Catana*, and stood in Battle-Array before the City-Gates, he on the sudden drawing forth the *Athenians*, fell on them and defeated them; yet he slew not many, the Horse hindering their pursuit. But his cutting and breaking down the Bridges that lay over the River, gave *Hermocrates* (heartning the *Syracusians*) occasion to say, That, *Nicias was ridiculous, whose great Conduct is to avoid fighting, as if fighting were not the thing he came for.*

However he cast the *Syracusians* into a grievous Fright and Consternation, so that in the stead of Fifteen Generals then in Service, they chose Three others to whom the People engaged by Oath to let them Command absolute.

There was nigh them a Temple of *Jupiter Olympius*, which the *Athenians* (there being in it many Consecrated things of Gold and Silver) had a great mind to take, which *Nicias* industriously delaying, lost the
Oppor-

Opportunity, and let a Garrison of the *Syracusians* enter it, he judging that if the Soldiers should make Booty of that wealth, 'twou'd be no manner of advantage to the Publick, and he should bear the Infamy of the impiety.

But *Nicias*, not improving in the least his Victory, that had made so much noise every where, after a few days stay, whip away goes he to *Naxus*, there Winters with such an Army upon excessive Charges, and performs little of moment with some *Sicilians* revolted to him.

Insomuch that the *Syracusians* took Heart again, made Excursions to *Catana*, wasted the Country, and fired the Camp of the *Athenians*. Now every Body blam'd *Nicias* as who with his Argumentations, his Considerations, and his mighty Cautions had let slip the time for Action. None ever found fault with the Man when once set a going, for in the brunt he was brisk and active, but was slow, and wanted assurance to engage. When therefore he brought again the Army to *Syracuse*, such was his Conduct, and with such both celerity and safety, he came upon them, that no Body knew of his Arrival with the Gallies at *Thapsus*, of his Descent, nor his Surprisal of *Epipolæ*: Then beat he the choicest Regiments, took three hundred Prisoners, and
routed

routed the Cavalry of the Enemy, which were thought invincible.

But that which chiefly astonish'd the *Syracusians*, and seem'd incredible to the *Grecians*, was, in so little time the walling about of *Syracuse*, a Town not less than *Athens*, but far more difficult, by the unevenness of the Ground, the nearness of the Sea, and the Marishes adjacent, to have such a Wall drawn in a Circle round it. Yet this, all within a very little, finish'd by a Man that had not his Health competent for so weighty Cares, but lay all ill of the Stone; Which may justly be blam'd for what was left undone. I admire the Toyl of the General, and the Bravery of the Soldiers, for what they performed. *Eurypides* after their Rout and Disaster, writing their Funeral Elegy, thus Sang,

*These did eight times the Syracusians Foyl,
But then the Gods stood Neuter all the while.*

And in truth one shall not find eight, but many more Victories won by these Men against the *Syracusians*; till the Gods or Fortune plainly gave a Check to the *Athenians*, when lifted to the top of their Power and Greatness.

Nicias therefore doing violence to his Body, was present in most Actions.

But

But when his Disease was the sharpest upon him, he lay in the Camp, with some few Servants to attend him. And *Lamachus* having the Command, fought the *Syracusians* (who were bringing a Cross-Wall from the *City*, along to that of the *Athenians*, to hinder them from carrying it round) and in the Victory, the *Athenians* hurrying in some Disorder to the pursuit, *Lamachus*, left alone, withstood the *Syracusan* Horse that came upon him; before the rest advanced *Callicrates*, a man of good Courage and Mettle, *Lamachus* upon the Challenge engaged with him in single Combat, who received the first wound, yet returned it so home to *Callicrates*, that they both fell down and died together.

And now the *Syracusians* took away the Body and Arms of *Lamachus*, and in great hast marcht to the Wall of the *Athenians*, where *Nicias* lay without any Guards; yet rouzed by this necessity, and beholding the Danger, he bid those about him go and set on Fire all the Wood, and Materials that lay provided before the Wall for the Engines, and the Engines themselves; this put a stop to the *Syracusians*, saved *Nicias*, saved the Walls, and all the Money of the *Athenians*. For when the *Syracusians* saw so much Fire flaming in the middle of them, they wheeled off.

Now

Now whilst these things were Atchieved, *Nicias* only was left of all the Generals, and he began to conceive great Hopes, for the Cities revolted to him, and Ships laden with Corn from Coast every came to the Camp, every one favouring when Matters went well. And now some Discourses past amongst the *Syracusians* (desparing to defend the City) about a Treaty with him.

And when *Gylippus* who came with a Squadron to their aid from *Lacedæmon*, heard on board of the Wall surrounding them, and of their Streights, he so steered for the rest, as that giving *Sicily* for lost, he might now if possible secure the *Italians* their Cities. For a strong report was every where spread about, that the *Athenians* carried all before them; and had now a General for Conduct, and for Fortune invincible.

And *Nicias* himself now against his Nature, grown Presumptuous in his present Strength and Success (especially from the Intelligence he received under-hand of the *Syracusians*, believing they would surrender the Town upon Terms) had no manner of regard to *Gylippus* coming to their Assistance, *Gylippus* nor set out any Scouts to purpose; so that neglected altogether, and despised, *Gylippus* went in a long Boat ashore, without the knowledge of *Nicias*; and having Landed

in the remotest parts from *Syracuse*, he mustered up a great Army, the *Syracusians* neither knowing of his Arrival, nor expecting him: So that an Assembly was summoned in Order to a Parley with *Nicias*, and some were hasty to have all dispatched, before the Town should be quite walled round, for now remained very little to be done, and the Materials lay all ready on the place.

In this very nick of Time and Danger, arriv'd *Gongylus* in one Gally from *Corinth*, and every one (as you may imagine) flocking about him, he told them that *Gylippus* would be with them speedily, and other Ships to relieve them. Now, ere they could perfectly believe *Gongylus*, an express was brought from *Gylippus*, to bid them go forth to meet him: So now, plucking up a good Heart, they took Arms; and *Gylippus* was presently upon the March, and by the way ranged them in Battel-array against the *Athenians*, as *Nicias* also embattelled these. And *Gylippus* in view of the *Athenians* laying down his Arms, sent an Herald to tell them, *He would give them leave with Bag and Baggage to depart quietly from Sicily.* To this *Nicias* would not vouchsafe any Answer, but some of his Soldiers laughing, askt if with the sight of one Cloak and Laconian Staff, the *Syracusan*

an Matters were so well hop'd up, in the turn of an hand to despise the Athenians, who had released to the Lacedæmonians three hundred, whom they held in Chains, Goodlier men than Gylippus, and with longer Locks? *Timæus* also writes, That even the *Syracusians* made no Account of *Gylippus*, at the first fight, drolling upon his Staff and long Hair, as afterwards they hated his Avarice and narrow Spirit.

The same Author says, that *Gylippus* appearing, many came fluttering about him, as it were some Owl, and were list'd under him. And this is more like the Truth than what was said before; for in the Staff and the Cloak beholding the Badge and Authority of *Sparta*, they crowded to him. And *Thucydides* affirms, that all the Work was done by him alone; so does *Philistus*, who was a *Syracusan*, and a Spectator of all that past.

However, the *Athenians* had the better of the first Encounter, and slew some few of the *Syracusians*, amongst whom was *Gongylus* of *Corinth*. Yet the next day *Gylippus* show'd what it is to be a Man of Experience, for with the same Arms, the same Horses, and on the same spot of Ground, changing only the Figure of the Battel, he overcame the *Athenians*: and they fleeing to their Camp, he set the *Syracusians* to

work, and with the Stone and Materials that had been brought together for finishing the Wall of the *Athenians*, he built a Cross-Wall to intercept theirs and break it down, so as nought remained to them of all their toyl.

Hereupon the *Syracusians* taking Courage, manned out their Gallies, and with their Horse and followers ranging about, they gathered up a great many Prisoners, and *Gylippus* going himself to the Cities, stirred and instigated them, who all heard him readily, and took Arms. So that *Nicias* fell again to his old Considerations, and, seeing the Face of Affairs change, he desponded and writ to *Athens*, bidding them send either another Army, or rather recall this out of Sicily; that he might however be wholly discharged of the Command, because of his Disease.

Before this, the *Athenians* had been very hot of sending another Army to Sicily, but Envy of *Nicias's* former great Atchievements and Success, cast in many Delays, till now that they were all for hastening away Recruits. *Eurymedon* went before, in Mid-winter, with Money, and to declare *Euthydemus* and *Menander* (chosen out of those that served there under *Nicias*) to be Joint-Commanders with him. *Demosthenes* was to go after in the Spring with a great Navy.

In

In the mean time *Nicias* was briskly attackt both by Sea and Land; in the beginning he had the disadvantage in his shipping, yet did he destroy and sink many Gallies of the Enemy. But by Land, he could not provide succour in time, so *Gylippus* fell upon, and surprized *Plemmyrion* at the first Assault in which the Stores for the Navy, and a great summ of Money (being there kept) was all lost, many there he slew, and took others Prisoners. What was of greatest importance, he cut off the Provisions from *Nicias*, which were safely and readily convoy'd to him whilst the *Athenians* held *Plemmyrion*; they being beaten out, he could not be supplied but with great Difficulty, and with fighting the Enemy, who rid at Anchor under that Fort.

And now it seemed manifest to the *Syracusians* that their Navy had not been beaten by Strength, but by their Disorder in the Pursuit: Now therefore all Hands, went to work to fit out a gallanter Fleet than the former, however *Nicias* had no Stomach to a Sea-fight, but said, 'twas madness for them (when *Demosthenes* was coming in all haste with so great a Fleet and fresh Forces to their Recruit) to engage the Enemy with a less number of Ships and ill provided. On the contrary *Menander* and *Euthydemus*, puffed up with their new Command, let loose

their Ambition, and envy against both the Old Generals: They were for preventing *Demosthenes* by some brave Action before his coming; and were for doing something beyond *Nicias*, they pretended the Honour of the City, which (said they) would be blemish'd and utterly lost, if they should be afraid of the *Syracusians*, who dared them to Battle.

Thus they forced *Nicias* to a Sea-fight; and by a Stratagem of *Ariston*, who commanded the *Corinthian* Gallies, they in the left Wing (as *Thucydides* tells us) were worsted, and lost many of their Men.

Hereupon *Nicias* was overwhelmed with Despair, beaten when he had the sole Command, and again miscarrying with his Companions.

But now by this time was discovered before the Haven *Demosthenes*, most splendidly equipp'd, and terrible to behold. He brought along, in seventy three Gallies, five thousand Men of Arms; of Darters, Archers, and Slingers, not less than 3000, with the glittering of their Armour, the Flags and Streamers, waving in the Air from the Gallies, the multitude of Trumpeters, and Minstrels, and Hoboys, and set off with all the Warlike Pomp and Ostentation, to dismay the Enemy.

Now

Now (one may believe) the *Syracusians* were again in a deadly fright, seeing no end nor expectation, but toiling in vain, and perishing to no purpose.

But *Nicias* was not long overjoyed for this Reinforcement ; for the first time he came to speech with *Demosthenes* (who advised forthwith to attaque the *Syracusians*, and speedily to put all to the hazard ; to win *Syracuse*, and return home) afraid , and wondring at his briskness and temerity, he beseeched him to do nothing rashly and desperately, seeing that delay would be the Ruine of the Enemy, whose Money would not hold out, nor their Confederates be long kept together ; that when once they came to be pinch'd with Want, they would again presently seek to him for Terms, as formerly ; that many in *Syracuse*, who held secret Correspondence with him, wish'd him to stay, in regard they were tired with the War, nor could endure *Gylippus* longer : And if their Necessities should the least sharpen upon them, they would give up all.

Nicias, glancing darkly at these matters, and partly unwilling to speak out plainly, put the Captains to imagine, that it was pure Cowardice which made him talk in this manner : And they (saying that he was now again upon the relapse to his old Cautions, and Shifts, and Trifling, whereby he

let slip the Opportunity, in not immediately falling on the Enemy, but suffering his Men to cool, and to grow contemptible) stuck to Demosthenes, and with much ado forced Nicias to comply.

Hereupon Demosthenes, with a Party of Foot, by night made an Assault upon Epipalæ; part of the Enemy he slew ere they took the Alarm; the rest, defending themselves, he put to flight. Nor was he content with this Victory there, but push'd on further, till he fell among the Bæotians; for these were the first that made head against the Athenians, and, after a great Shout, warmly charged them with Push of Pike, and killed many on the Place. And now was there nothing but Horror and Confusion throughout the whole Army; the Body that stood involved with those that fled, they that defended, and those who came round, falling foul together, knock'd one another down, taking them in the pursuit for those that fled, and handling their Friends as if they were the Enemy. For jumbled thus in disorder, distracted with blind Fear and Uncertainties, and discerning false, the Night not being absolutely dark, nor yielding any steady Light, the Moon then towards setting, shadowed with many Weapons and Bodies that moved to and fro, and glimmering so as not to shew

shew an Object plain, but to make, through fear, a Familiar, suspected for a Foe ; which cast the *Athenians* into horrid difficulties and despair.

Besides all this, they had the Moon on their Backs, whereby they shaded one another, and both hid their Numbers and the Glittering of their Arms ; but the reflection of the Moon from the Shields of the Enemy, made them shew more numerous, and better appointed than indeed they were.

Lastly, Being press'd on every side where they had retreated, they took the rout ; and, in their flight, some were destroyed by the Enemy, some fell by the hands of their Friends, and some tumbled down the Rocks. Those that were dispers'd and stragled in the Fields, were pick'd up in the morning by the Horsemen, and put to the Sword ; the slain were Two thousand ; of the rest few came off safe with their Arms.

Upon this Disaster, *Nicias*, struck, as might be expected, accused the rashness of *Demosthenes* ; but he coloured it over, and advised to be gone in all haste ; for neither were other Forces to come, nor the Enemy to be beaten with the present ; or supposing they were yet too hard for the Enemy, however they ought to remove, and avoid that place, being always accounted a sickly place,
and

and dangerous for an Army ; especially now, because of the season, being (as they see by experience) Pernicious. It was the beginning of *Autumn*, and many now lay sick, and all were out of heart.

It grieved *Nicias* to hear of flight, and departing home, not that he did not fear the *Syracusians*, but he was worse affraid of the *Athenians*, their Impeachments, and Sentence, therefore he made as if he apprehended nothing farther there ; or, should ought happen, better dye by the hand of an Enemy, than by his Fellow-Citizens.

He was not of the opinion which afterwards *Leo* of *Byzantium* declared to his Fellow-Citizens, *I had rather (said he) perish by you, than with you.*

Nicias therefore, for the matter of place and quarter, whither to remove their Camp, said, *That might be debated at leisure :* And *Demosthenes*, his former Counsel having succeeded so ill, ceased to press him farther ; others thought *Nicias* expected, and had assurance from some Body within the City, which made him so stoutly oppose their retreat, so they did acquiesce. But another Army coming to the *Syracusians*, and the Sicknes raging in his Camp, he also now approved of their retreat ; and commanded the Soldiers to make ready to go aboard.

And

And when all were in readiness, and none of the Enemy had observed them, not expecting such a thing, the Moon fell E-^{An E-}clips'd in the Night, to the great fright of ^{clipse,} *Nicias*, and of others, who, for want of experience, or out of Superstition, are scar'd with these Appearances. That the Sun would be dark'ned about the Thirtieth day of the Month by the Moon going between, this even the ordinary People now well enough understood; but the Moon it self to be dark'ned, how that could come about, and how on the sudden a broad full Moon should lose all her light, and shew such various colours, that was not easie to be comprehended: But they concluded it *to be Ominous, and a sign from God of heavy Calamities to ensue.*

For he, who the first, and the most plainly of any, and with the greatest assurance, committed to Writing how the Moon is enlightened and overshadowed, was *Anaxagoras*; yet neither was he ancient, nor his Notion much taken notice of, but was lookt upon as Heterodox, and kept secret, passing only amongst a few, under some kind of Caution and Confidence. For they would not suffer Naturalists and *μετεωρολόγας* as they then called them, that is, *such who dispute of things above*; as lessening the Divine Power, by deducing things from Na-
tural

tural senseless Causes, and a long Chain of Necessity, without any thing of Providence, or a free Agent.

Hence it was, that *Protagoras* was Bannish'd, and *Anaxagoras* cast in Prison, *Pericles* had very much ado to procure his Liberty; and *Socrates*, though he medled not at all in this sort of Learning, yet was put to death for Philosophy.

At the length the Reputation of *Plato* shining forth by his Life, and because he subjected Natural Necessity to a divine and more excellent Principle, he wiped off the obloquy and scandal from these contemplations, and made way for the Mathematicks to all People. So his Friend *Dion*, when the Moon (at the time he was to Embark from *Zacynthus* to go against *Dionysius*) was Eclips'd, was not in the least disturbed, but went on, and arriving at *Syracuse*, drove away the Tyrant.

But it so fell out with *Nicias*, that he had not at this time a skilful *Divine* with him; for his Domestick (and who took off much of his Superstition) *Stilbides* dyed a little before.

However, this Prodigy (as *Philochorus* saith) could not be unlucky to them that flee, but surely very favourable; for things done in fear require to be hidden, for the Light is their Foe.

Nor

Nor was it usual to observe the Sun or Moon more that three days, as *Autoclide*s has related in his Commentaries: But *Nicias* perswaded them to wait another course of the Moon; as if he had not presently seen it clear again, after it passed the shady place, that the Light was no longer obstructed by the Earth.

Yet he in a manner abandoning all other cares, betook himself wholly to his Sacrifices; till the Enemy came upon them with their Infantry, besieging the Forts and Camp, and drew their Ships in a circle about the Harbour. Nor did they from the Gallies only, but the little Boys every where got into Cock-boats, and rowed about, provoking the *Athenians*, and insulting over them. Amongst these a Youth of Noble Parentage, *Heraclides* by name, having launch'd out before the rest, an *Athenian* Ship pursued and well nigh took him, his Uncle *Pollichus*, in fear for him, made out with Ten Gallies, whereof he had the Command; and the rest, to relieve *Pollichus*, in like manner drew forth, which brought on a very sharp Engagement; wherein the *Syracusians* had the Victory, and slew *Eurymedon*, with many others.

Hereupon the *Athenian* Souldiers had no patience to stay longer, but mutiny'd against their Officers, requiring them to depart

part by Land; for the *Syracusians* upon their Victory, immediately shut, and lockt up the Entrance of the Harbour; but *Nicias* would not consent to this, for it was a shameful thing to leave behind so many Ships of Burthen, and Gallies, little less than Two hundred; putting therefore on board the best of the Foot, and the lustiest Darters, they filled one Hundred and ten Gallies; the rest wanted Oars: the remainder of his Army, *Nicias* posted along by the Sea-side, deserting the great Camp, and Walls that reach'd to *Hercules's* Temple.

So the *Syracusians*, not having of a long time performed their usual Sacrifice to *Hercules*, went up now, both Priests and Captains to Sacrifice; And now their Gallies being Manned, the *Divines* predicted from their Sacrifice, *Victory and Glory to the Syracusians, provided they would not be the Aggressors, but fight upon the Defensive*; for so *Hercules* overcame all, by only defending himself when set upon.

In this confidence they set out: And this proved the hottest and fiercest of all their Sea-fights; raising no less concern and passion in the beholders, than in the actors; because they might oversee the whole action, with all the various turns, so sudden and unexpected; wherein the *Athenians* suffered

suffered no less from their own preparations, than from the Enemy; for they fought against light nimble Ships, with theirs laden, heavy, and at every turn falling foul on one another. And they were thrown at with Stones that fly indifferently any way, for which were returned Darts and Arrows, which glancing on the waves, no longer fly point blank, or regard the mark at which they were levell'd.

Ariston, a *Corinthian* Captain, taught this the *Syracusians*, who fighting stoutly, fell himself in this very Engagement, even whilst the *Syracusians* had the Victory.

The *Athenians*, their loss and slaughter being very great, their flight by Sea cut off, their safety by Land so difficult, did neither hinder the Enemy towing away their Ships, from under their noses, nor demanded their Dead, judging their want of Burial a less Calamity than the leaving behind the sick and the wounded; all this they had before their eyes, yet far more miserable than those did they reckon themselves, who were to work yet thorow more such evils, after all, to make certainly the same end.

Now the *Athenians* prepared to dislodge that night.

Gylippus seeing the *Syracusians* fast at their Sacrifice and their Cups for their Victories

stories, and it being also a Holiday, expected not either by Perswasion, or by Force to rouse them up, and carry them against the *Athenians* as they decamp'd. But *Hermocrates*, of his own Head, put a trick upon *Nicias*; sending some of his Companions to him, that pretended *they came from those that were wont to hold secret intelligence with him, to advise him not to stir that night, the Syracusians having laid ambushes, and all beset the ways.*

Nicias, caught with this stratagem, did simply stay; as if he feared lest that he should not feel the Enemy effectually. For they the next Morning Marching before, seized the Passes, fortified where the Rivers were fordable, cut down the Bridges, and ordered their Horsemen to range the Plains and Ground that lay open, so as to leave no manner of way for the *Athenians* to move without fighting.

They stay'd both that day, and another night, then went along, as if they were leaving their own, not an Enemies Country, lamenting and howling for want of Necessaries, and for their parting from Friends and Familiars that were not able to help themselves; and likewise judging the present evils lighter than those they expected to come.

But

But among the many miserable Spectacles that appeared up and down in the Camp, the saddest sight of all, was *Nicias* himself, labouring under his Malady, and unworthily reduced to extreme want of all accommodations, necessary for his condition, which required more than ordinary, because of his Sickness; yet he bore up under all this Illness, and underwent more than many in perfect health could be able to endure: And it was plainly evident, that all this toyl was not for himself, or from any regard to his own Life, but purely for their sake under his Command, he would not abandon hope.

And indeed the rest were given over to weeping and lamentation through fear or sorrow, but he, whenever forced thereunto, 'twas manifest, he reflected on the shame and dishonour of this Adventure, set against the Greatness and Glory he had expected to win.

Not only beholding his person, but calling to mind his words, and the dissuasions he used to prevent this Expedition, they reckoned that so much the less did he deserve to be thus wretched.

And they had no heart to put their trust in the Gods, considering that a Man so Religious, who had performed to the Powers Divine so many and so great Acts of Devotion, should have no more favourable

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Success

Success than the wickedest and meanest Fellow of the whole Army.

Nicias however endeavoured all the while by his Voice, his Countenance, and his Carriage, to be above these Misfortunes; and all along the way pelted at, and receiving Wounds eight days continually from the Enemy: Yet preserved he the Forces with him in a Body entire, till that *Demosthenes* was taken Prisoner.

The Party that he led, whilst they fought and made a stout resistance, were at the Village *Polyzelia* hemmed in; *Demosthenes* thereupon drew his Sword, and smote, but killed not himself, the Enemy presently running in and seizing upon him.

So soon as the *Syracusians* had gone and informed *Nicias* of this, and he sent some Horsemen, and by them knew the certainty of that Armies Defeat, he then vouchsafed to sue to *Gylippus* for a Truce, for the Athenians to depart out of Sicily, leaving Hostages for the Money that the *Syracusians* had expended in the War.

But now they would not hear of these Proposals, but threatening them in great fury and storm, and upbraiding them, let fly at them, destitute of all things necessary. Yet *Nicias* made good his Retreat all that Night, and the next day, through all their Darts, held on his way to the River *Assina-*

rus;

rus ; there the Enemy encountering them , drove some into the Stream ; others, ready to die for thirst, plunged in headlong, there drinking and drowning with the same labour. And here was the cruellest and most immoderate Slaughter; till *Nicias*, falling down to *Gylippus*, *Let Pity, O Gylippus*, (said he) *move you in your Victory; not for me, who have some Glory and Name from such like Misfortunes, but for the other Athenians : You well know, that the Chance of War is common to all ; and the Athenians used it moderately and mildly towards you in their Prosperity.*

At these Words, and at the sight of *Nicias*, *Gylippus* was somewhat troubled ; for he was sensible that the *Lacedæmonians* had received good Offices from *Nicias* in the late Treaty ; and he thought it a great and glorious Action, to carry off the Chief Commanders of the *Athenians* alive : Wherefore he received *Nicias* with respect, and bid him *be of good Cheer* ; and commanded his Men to spare the Lives of the rest ; but the Word of Command being communicated slowly, the Slain were far the greater number than the Prisoners. Yet many were privily conveyed away by particular Soldiers; those taken openly were hurried together on heaps, their Arms and Spoils hung up on the goodliest and the

fairest Trees all along the River; the Conquerors Crowned, their Horses splendidly adorned, with those of their Enemy cropp'd and cut bare; entred the City, having, in the noblest Contest, wag'd by *Greeks* against *Greeks*, and with the greatest Strength, and the utmost Effort of Valour and Manhood, won a most entire Victory.

And a General Assembly of the People of *Syracuse*, and their Confederates, sitting, *Euricles*, a leading Man, moved first, *That the Day on which they took Nicias, should from thence-forward be kept Holy-day, by Sacrificing, and forbearing all manner of Work; and from the River, be called, the Assinarian Feast.* This was the Twenty sixth day of the Month of *July*. And that the Servants of the *Athenians*, and the other Confederates, be sold for Slaves; themselves, and the *Sicilian Auxiliaries*, to be kept and employed in the Quarries; except the Captains, and they to be put to death.

As the *Syracusians* debated these matters, *Hermocrates* saying, *That to use well a Victory, was better than to gain a Victory;* They, in a great Hubbub, rebuked him warmly. And *Gylippus* demanding the *Athenian* Generals to be delivered to him, that he might carry them to the *Lacedæmonians*, the *Syracusians*, now insolent with their

their good Fortune, gave him ill Words. Yet before this, even in the War, they hardly endured his austere Carriage, and *Lacedæmonian* Haughtiness: And (as *Timæus* tells us) they condemned in him his Sordidness and Avarice, an Hereditary Vice; for which also his Father *Cleandrides*, convicted of Bribery, was banish'd: And this very Man, of the One thousand Talents which *Lyfander* sent to *Sparta*, embezell'd Thirty, and hid them under the Tyles of his House; which being detected, he most shamefully ran his Country. But these Matters are more at large handled in the Life of *Lyfander*. *Timæus* does not say, that *Demoſthenes* and *Nicias* were stoned to death; as *Thucydides* and *Philistus* have left written, but that upon a Message from *Hermocrates* (whilst yet the Assembly were sitting) admitted to them by some of the Guards, they slew themselves; and their Bodies, thrown out before the Gates, lay open for a Publick Spectacle.

I have heard that now to this day, in a Temple at *Syracuse*, is shown a shield, said to have been *Nicias's*, with Gold and Purple curiously wrought and embroidered. Most of the *Athenians* perish'd in the Quarries by Diseases and ill Dyet, allowed only two pints of Barley every day, and one of Water. Many of them were carried off by

stealth and fold, or concealed amongst the Slaves, and sold as Slaves, having mark'd an Horse on their foreheads, which they suffered over and above their slavery.

But their modesty and handsome carriage was an advantage to them; for they were either soon set free, or winning respect, continued with those who possess them.

Several amongst them were saved for the sake of *Euripides*; for, of all the In-land *Grecians*, his Muse (it seems) was of highest esteem with the Men of *Sicily*. And when any Travellers arrived, that could tell them some Copy, or give them any taste of his Verses, they lovingly communicated them to one another. Many of those that were preserved, are said, after they got home, to have gone and made their acknowledgments to *Euripides*, relating how that some of them had been released from their slavery, by teaching what they could remember of his Poems; and others, when stragling after the fight, been relieved with Meat and Drink for repeating some of his Lines. Nor need this be any wonder, for 'tis reported, That a Ship of *Caunus* fleeing into their Harbour for Protection, pursued by Pyrats, was not received, but forced back, till one asked if they had any of *Euripides's* Verses, who saying they had, they were admitted, and their Ship brought into Harbour.

'Tis

'Tis said, that the *Athenians*, chiefly, because of the Reporter, cou'd not believe their loss; for a certain Stranger (it seems) coming to *Peiræum*, and there sitting in a Barbers Shop, and talking of what had hapned, let fall some words, as if the *Athenians* already knew all that had past; which the Barber hearing, before he acquainted any body else, he ran, in all hast, up into the City, applyed himself to the *Archons*, and presently spread it all about. Whereupon there being every where (as may be imagin'd) great Fear and Consternation, the *Archons* summoned a general Assembly, and there brought in the Man, and questioned him how he came to know those things; and he, giving no satisfactory account, was taken for a spreader of False News, and one that trouble the City; and was therefore fastned to the Wheel, and rack't a long time, till other Messengers arrived, that related the whole Disaster particularly. Thus, at the length, was *Nicias* believed, suffering what he so often had foretold.

THE
L I F E
O F
MARCUS CRASSUS.

Translated from the *Greek*, by
Mr. *Amburst* , Esq;

VOLUME III.

M*Arcus Crassus*, whose Father had born the Office of a Censor, and received the Honour of a Triumph, was Educated in a little House together with his two Brothers, who both Married in their Parents Life-time, and they kept but one Table amongst them all, which (perhaps) was not the least reason of this Man's Temperance and Moderation in Diet; but one of his Brothers dying,

MARCUS CRASSUS.



*This is y^e certain ffate of Avarice,
Like Dropsy Patients, Crassus drinks, and dys.*

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dying, he Married his Widow, by whom he had his Children; neither was he, as to this, less continent than any of the *Romans*, though when he was grown up, he was suspected to have been familiar with one of the Vestal Virgins, named *Licina*, who was nevertheless acquitted, one *Plotinus* managing the Evidence against her. Now this *Licina* stood possessed of a fair Country Seat, which *Crassus* desiring to purchase at under-rate, he was always lying at her, and attending of her, and this gave occasion to the Scandal; but he likewise was acquitted, his Avarice, in some measure, clearing him of Incest; but however he never left the Lady till he had got her Estate. People were wont to say, That all the many Vertues of *Crassus* were darkened by this one Vice of Avarice, and indeed he seemed to have no other but that; for it being the most predominant, obscured the other Vices to which he was inclined, and the Arguments they alledged, were the vastness of his Estate, and the manner of raising it; for whereas at first he was not worth above 300 Talents, yet being entered upon Administration of Affairs, though he had Sacrific'd the Tenths of all he had to *Hercules*, and feasted the People, and gave to every Citizen Corn enough to serve him Three Months; yet upon

Συγγε-
νός κῆρας,
for the
Streets
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crooked, and
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with Tim-
ber, after
it had been
burnt by
the Gauls.

upon casting up his Accounts, before he went upon his *Parthian* Expedition, he found them amount to Seventy thousand Talents, most of which, if we may scandal him with a Truth, he got by Fire and Rapine, making his advantages of the Publick Calamities: for when *Sylla* seized the City, and exposed to sale the Goods of those that he had caused to be slain, accounting them Booty and Spoys, and calling them so too, and being willing to make as many of the most substantial Citizens as he could, partakers in the Crime, *Crassus* never was the man that refused to accept, or give money for them. Moreover, observing how extremely subject the City was to fire, and falling down of Houses, by reason of their height, and standing so near together; he bought Slaves that were Builders and Architects, and when he had got to the number of 500. he bought the Houses that were on fire, and those in the Neighbourhood, which, by reason of the present danger and uncertainty, the old Proprietors were willing to part with for little or nothing: so that the greatest part of *Rome*, at one time or other, came into his hands. Yet for all he had so many Workmen, he never built any thing but his own House; because, said he, those that are addicted to Building will undo themselves soon enough with-

without the help of other Enemies; but hired his Servants out to Citizens that had a mind to build, and sold 'em as much Ground as they had need of: But although he had so much ready Cash, and rich Land, and Labourers to work in it, yet all this was nothing in Comparison of his Servants. So many, and so excellent Lecturers, Amanuenses, Silver-Smiths, Stewards, and Table-waiters; and he always stood over them to inspect and teach them himself, accounting it the Duty of a Master to look over the Servants, that are indeed the *living tools* of House-keeping; and herein he was in the right (if he spoke as he meant) that the Servants ought to look after all other things, and the Master after them: For Oeconomy, which in things Inanimate is but good Huswifery, in men becomes Policy: but surely he was mistaken when he said, No man was to be accounted Rich, that could not maintain an Army at his own Cost and Charges; for War, as *Archidamas* well observed, has no certain Allowance, the charge of which is indefinite; and he was clear of another opinion than *C. Marcus*; for he when he had distributed fourteen Acres of Land a Man, and understanding that some desired more; God forbid (says he) that any *Roman* should think that too little which is enough to keep him
alive

alive and lusty; but however *Crassus* was very hospitable to Strangers, for he kept open House; and to his Friends he would lend Money Interest-free; but he called it in precisely at the time; so that his Kindness was worse than the paying the Interest would have been. As for his Entertainments, they were very frank and courteous, his Company generally of the middle sort, the neatness and contrivance of them looking better than if they had been more Magnificent. As for Learning, he chiefly minded Rhetorick, and such Studies as might accomplish most for Publick Employments; for although he was naturally as good a Spokesman as almost any of them, yet in his Pains and Industry he surpassed them all; for there was no Trial, how mean and contemptible soever, that he came to unprepared; nay, several times he has gone through with a Cause, when *Pompey*, and *Cæsar*, and *Tully* himself have refused to stand up, upon which account particularly he got the Love of the People, who looked upon him as a necessary Man, and one ready to do a good turn: Besides, the People were pleased with his courteous and frank Salutations and Greetings; for he never met any Citizen, how mean and low soever, but he returned him his Salute by Name. He was looked upon as a man well

well read in History, and pretty well seen in *Aristotle's* Philosophy, which one *Alexander* read to him, whose Commerce with *Crassus* was a sufficient Argument of his good nature and meek disposition: For 'tis hard to say whether he was poorer when he entered into his Service, or while he continued in it; for being his only Friend that used to accompany him in his Progresses he would lend him a Cloak for a Journey, and when he came home demand it again. O the patience of the Wretch, when even the Philosophy he professed did not look upon Poverty as a thing indifferent! but of this hereafter, when *Cinna* and *Marius* got the Power in their hands, 'twas soon perceived that they came not for any good they intended to their Country but designing the ruine and utter destruction of the Nobility, and as many as they could lay their hands on they slew, amongst which was *Crassus* his Father and Brother; but himself being very young, for the present escaped the danger; but understanding that he was every way beset, and hunted after by the Tyrants, taking with him three Friends and ten Servants, with all possible speed he fled into *Spain*, having formerly been there, and contracted a great acquaintance while his Father was *Prator* of that Country; but finding all
People

People in a Consternation, and dreading the Cruelty of *Marius*, as if he was already at their Doors, he durst not discover himself to any Body, but hid himself in a large Cave, which was by the Sea-shore, and belonged to *Vibius Pacianus*, to whom he sent one of his Servants to sound him, his Provisions also beginning to fail. *Vibius* was well pleased at his Escape, and enquiring the place of his abode, and the number of his Companions, he went not to him himself, but Commanded his Bayliff to provide every day a good Meals-meat, and carry it and leave it upon such a Stone, and so return without taking any further notice, or being inquisitive, promising him his Liberty if he did as he commanded, and that he would kill him if he did otherwise. The Cave is not far from the Sea, made by the closing together of some Cliffs, through the Chinks of which enters a refreshing and delicate Gale: When you are entred, you find a wonderful high Roof, and a great many very large Rooms one within another; neither is it void of Water or Light; for a very pleasant and wholesome Spring runs through the Cliffs, and the natural Chinks let in the Light all day long; and by reason of the thickness of the Rock, the Air within is pure and clear, that which is foggy and unhealthful being carried

ried away with the Stream. While *Crassus* remained here, the Steward brought them what was necessary, but never saw them, nor knew any thing of the matter, though they within saw, and expected him at the customary times; neither was their entertainment such as just to keep them alive, but very plentiful and delicious; for *Pacianus* resolved to treat him with all imaginable Civility; and considering he was a young Gentleman, he resolv'd to gratifie a little his youthful Inclinations; for to give just what is needful, seems rather to come from necessity, than from a hearty Friend. Taking with him therefore two handsom Damsels, he shew'd them the place, and bid them go in boldly; whom when *Crassus* and his Friends saw, they were afraid of being betray'd; demanding therefore what they were, and what they would have, they, according as they were instructed, answered, They came to wait upon their Master, who was hid in that Cave. Then *Crassus* perceiving 'twas a kind Trick of *Vibius*, took the Damsels to him, and kept them there with him as long as he staid, who gave an account to *Vibius* of what they wanted, and how their Case stood. One of which Ladies, though she was very old, *Femestellus* says, he had seen, and often heard her tell the Story.

When

When *Crassus* had lain concealed there eight Months, as soon as he understood *Cinna* was dead, he appeared abroad, a great number of People flocking to him, out of which he selected 2500. He visited many Cities (and as some write) sack'd *Halaca*; though he ever obstinately denied it; hence getting together some Ships, he passes into *Africa*, and joyns with *Metellus Pius* an eminent Person, that had raised a very considerable Army; but upon some difference between him and *Metellus*, he stay'd not long there, but went over to *Sylla*, by whom he was very much esteemed; when *Sylla* passed over into *Italy*, he kept all the young Noble-men, that were with him in Employment, some he dispatch'd one way, and some another, it fell to *Crassus* his share to raise men among the *Marsians*, he demanded a Guard, being to pass through the Enemy's Countrey, to whom *Sylla* replied sharply; I give you for Guard, your Father, your Brother, your Friends and Kindred, whose unjust and cruel murder I am now going to revenge; whereat *Crassus* being netled, he went his way, broke boldly through the Enemy, and behaved himself briskly in all *Sylla's* Encounters, from whence, they say, began the Emulation for Glory between him and *Pompey*; for though *Pompey* was the younger

younger man, and had the disadvantage to be descended of a Father that was disesteemed by the Citizens, and hated as much as ever Man was; yet in these Affairs he appeared so glorious and great, that *Sylla* always used when he came in, to stand up, and pull off his Hat, an Honour which he seldom shewed to Older men, and of as good Quality, evermore he saluted him *Imperator*; this fir'd and stung *Crassus*, though indeed 'twas but *Pompey's* due to be preferred, for he both wanted experience, and his two innate Vices, Sordidness and Avarice, Tarnish'd all the Lustre of his Actions; for when he had taken *Turdesia*, a Town of the *Umbrians*, he converted all the Spoil to his own use, for which he was complained of to *Sylla*: Nay, in the last and greatest Battle before *Rome* it self, where *Sylla* was worsted, some of his Batalions giving ground, and others quite broken; though *Crassus* got the Victory in the right Wing which he Commanded, and pursued the Enemy till night, he then sent to *Sylla* to acquaint him with his Success, and demand Provision for his Soldiers. By Prescriptions and Sequestrations he lost his repute, by making great purchases for little or nothing, and expecting Presents too besides: Nay, they say he sequestred some one of the *Brescians* with-

out *Sylla's* Order, only for his own profit, wherefore *Sylla* never after trusted him in any Publick Affairs. As no man was more cunning than *Crassus* to ensnare others by flattery; so no man lay more open to it, or swallowed the Bait more greedily than himself; and this particularly was observed of him, that though he was the most covetous and scraping man in the World, yet he ever hated and railed at such People. It troubled him to see *Pompey* so successfull in all his Undertakings, that he had rode in Triumph before he was capable to sit in the Senate, and that the People had surnamed him the Great, and when some body was saying, *Pompey* the Great was coming, he smiled and asked him, Why, how big is he? despairing therefore to equal him by Feats of Arms, he betook himself to the long Robe, when by doing kindneses, pleading, lending money, by standing by and voting for those that stood for Offices, he arrived at as great Honour and Power, as *Pompey* had from his many famous Expeditions, and this was peculiar to them, *Pompey's* name and interest in the City was greatest when he was absent, for his Renown in War, but when present he was often less esteemed than *Crassus*, by reason of his superciliousness and haughty way of living, shunning mean Company, and appearing

pearing rarely at the *Forum*, assisting only some few, and that not readily, that his Interest might be the stronger when he came to use it for himself; whereas *Crassus* being a Friend always at hand, ready and easie of access, and very well experienced in these Affairs, with his Freedom and Courtesie got the better of *Pompey's* Formality. As for the Gracefulness of Body, Eloquence of their Discourse, and Dignity of their Persons, they were equally excellent: But however this Emulation never transported him so far as to quarrel him, or bear him any ill will; for though he was grieved to see *Pompey* and *Cæsar* preferred to him, yet he never added Baseness to his Jealousie, though *Cæsar*, when he was taken Captive by the *Corsairs* in *Asia*, cried out, O *Crassus*, *how wilt thou rejoice at the News of my Captivity?* Though afterwards they lived friendly together: For when *Cæsar* was going *Prætor* into *Spain*, and wanting Money, his Creditors fell upon him, and seized upon his Equipage, *Crassus* then stood by him and relieved him, and was his Bail for 830 Talents; now the City of *Rome* being divided into three Factions, of *Pompey*, *Cæsar* and *Crassus*, (for as for *Cato* his Fame was greater than his Power, being rather admired than followed) the sober and substantial part were for *Pompey*,

the brisk and hot headed followed *Cæsar's* Ambition, but *Crassus* trimmed between them, making advantages of both, and caused a great alteration in the Government of the City, being neither a trusty Friend nor implacable Enemy, and was easily angered or appeased according as he found it for his advantage, so that in a small time he would assert and decry the same Laws and the same men, but though he was so much favoured, he was more feared, so that *Sicinius* who was the greatest Teizer of the Magistrates, and Ministers of his time, being ask'd how chanc'd he let *Crassus* alone? Oh, says he, he carries Hay on his horns, alluded to the custom of tying Hay to the Horns of a Bull that used to Butt, that People might avoid him. Now the Insurrection of the *Gladiators*, and the Desolation of *Italy*, which many call the *Spartecian* War, began upon this occasion: One *Lentulus Batiatus* trained up a great many *Gladiators* in *Capua* (many of which were *Gauls* and *Thracians*) who not for any fault by them committed, but by the injustice of their Master, were compell'd often to fight one with another. Two hundred of these consulted how to escape, but their Plot being discovered, they who first perceived it for preventions sake, being seventy eight, got out of a
Cooks

Cooks shov chopping-knives, Spits, &c. and made their way through the City; and lighting by the way on several Waggon, that were carrying *Gladiators* Arms to another City, they seized upon them and Armed themselves; and seizing upon a defensible place, they chose three Captains, of which *Spartacus* was chief, a *Thracian* Shepherd, a Man not only of an high Spirit and valiant, but more understanding and courteous than could be expected from one of his condition, and more Civiliz'd than the People of that Country usually are. When he first came to be sold at *Rome*, they say a Snake twined about his Face as he lay asleep and his Wife who also accompanied him, his Country-Women, a kind of Prophetess, and inspired by *Bacchus*, declared that it was a great and terrible sign, portending great Power to him with an happy event. First then routing those that came out of *Capua* against them, and seizing upon their Arms, they gladly threw away their own as barbarous and dishonourable; afterwards *Clodius* the Prætor, was Commanded against them with a Party of three thousand, who besieged them within a Mountain, which had but one narrow and Difficult passage, which *Clodius* kept guarded, encompassed with broken and slippery precipices, but upon

the top grew a great many wild Vines; they cut down as many of their boughs, as they had need of and twisted them into Ladders, that would reach from thence to the Bottom, by which without any danger they got down all but one, who stayed there only to throw them down their Arms, and after all he saved himself. Now the *Romans* were ignorant of all this, wherefore coming upon their backs, they assaulted them at unwares, took their Camp, and several of the Shepherds and Herdsmen that were there, stout nimble fellows, revolted over to them; these they Armed and made use of them for Scouts and light Armed Soldiers. Again *Publius Varinus* is sent General against them, whose Lieutenant General *Phrurius*, with two thousand Men, they fought and routed. Then *Cossinius* Collegue to *Varinus*, was sent with considerable Forces, him *Spartacus* missed but very little of taking, as he was Bathing at *Salenæ*, for he with great difficulty made his escape; but *Spartacus* possessed himself of his Baggage, and following the chase with a great slaughter, stormed his Camp and took it, where *Cossinius* himself was slain; nay after many Skirmishes with the *Prætor* himself, and in one taking Prisoners his *Lictors* and his own Horse, he began to be great and terrible, wisely therefore considering,

considering, that he was not to expect to match the Force of the Empire, he marched his Army towards the *Alps*, intending when he had passed them that every Man should go to his own home, some to *Thrace*, some to *Gaul*, &c. but they being grown confident in their numbers, and puffed up with their Success, would give no Obedience to him, but with Excursions ravaged *Italy*, so that now the Senate was not only moved at the Indignity, and Baseness, both of the Enemy, and of the Insurrection, but looking upon it as of dangerous Consequence, both the Consuls are sent to it as to a great and difficult Enterprize, and Consul *Gellius* falling suddenly upon a Party of *Germans*, who through Contempt and Confidence, were stragled from *Spartacus*, fell upon them on a sudden, and cut them all to pieces. But *Lentulus* with a mighty Army besieging *Spartacus*, he sallied upon him, and joyning Battel took his chief Officers Prisoners, and made himself Master of all his Baggage. As he made toward the *Alps*, *Cassius* that was Prætor of that part of *Gaul* that lies about the *Po*, met him with ten thousand Men, but being overcome in Battel he had much ado to escape himself, with the loss of a great many of his Men; when the Senate understood this, they were displeased at the Consuls, and order-

ing them to meddle no farther, they appointed *Crassus* General of the War, and a great many of the Nobility went Volunteers with him, partly out of Friendship, and partly to get Honour. He staid in *Picenna*, expecting *Spartacus* would take a compass and come that way, and sent his Lieutenant with two Legions, to wheel about and observe the Enemies motion, but upon no account to engage or Skirmish; but he upon the first opportunity joyned Battel, and was routed, having a great many of his Men slain, and a great many saving their lives with the loss of their Arms. *Crassus* rebuked *Mummius* severely, and Arming the Soldiers again, he made them find Sureties for their Arms, that they would part with them no more; but for Five hundred that were the Beginners of the flight, he divided them into Fifty tenths, and one of each was to Die by Lot, thus he revived the ancient punishment of Decimation, where Ignominy is added to the Circumstances of Death, like the representation of a dismal and terrible Tragedy, where the rest sit as Spectators. When he had thus reclaimed his Men, he led them against the Enemy, but *Spartacus* retreated into *Lucania*, toward the Sea, and in the straights meeting with some *Cilician* Pyrats, he had thought of attempting *Sicily*, whereupon
Landing

Landing Two thousand Men, he hoped to new-kindle the War of the Slaves, which was but lately extinguished, and seemed to need but little fewel; but after the Pyrats had struck a bargain with him, and received his Earnest, they deceived him, and sailed away. He thereupon retired again from the Sea, and pitched his Camp in the Peninsula of *Rhegium*; there *Crassus* came upon him, and considering the nature of the place, and that it supplied him for all that was necessary for his undertaking, he designed to build a Wall cross the *Isthmus*; thus keeping his Soldiers at once from idleness, and his foes from forrage; which great and difficult undertaking he perfected in a small time, beyond all expectation, making a Ditch from one Sea to the other, over a neck of land of Three hundred furlongs long, fifteen foot broad, and as much in depth, and upon it built a wonderful high and strong Wall, which *Spartacus* at first slighted and despised, but when Provisions began to fail, and intending to pass further, he found he was walled in, and no more was to be had in the Peninsula, taking the opportunity of a snowy stormy night, he filled up part of the Ditch with earth, and boughs of Trees, and so passed over the third part of his Army, wherefore *Crassus* was afraid lest he should March directly to

Rome;

Rome; but was soon eased of that fear, when he saw many of his men upon a mutiny revolt from him, and encamp by themselves upon the *Lucanian Lake*. This Lake they say is very changeable, sometimes sweet, and sometimes so salt, that it cannot be drunk. *Crassus* falling upon these beat them from the Lake, though he could not pursue the slaughter, by reason of *Spartacus* his coming in, who stayed the flight. Now he began to repent that he had formerly writ to the Senate, to call *Lucullus* out of *Thrace*, and *Pompey* out of *Spain*, so that he did all he could to finish the War, before they came, knowing that the honour of the Action, would redound to him that came to his assistance; resolving therefore first to set upon those that were revolted, and encamped apart, whom *C. Cunicius* and *Castus* Commanded, he sent six thousand men before to secure a little Eminence, and to do it, as privately as possible, which that they might do, they covered their Helmets, but being discovered by two Women that were sacrificing for the Enemy, they had been in great hazard, had not *Crassus* immediately appeared, and joined Battel with them, which proved very Bloody, for twelve thousand three hundred were slain, and two only wounded in their backs, the rest all died standing in their ranks, and

and fighting bravely: *Spartacus* after this Discomfiture, retired to the Mountains of *Petilia*, but *Quintus* one of *Crassus* his Commanders and *Scrophia* the *Questor*, pursued, and overtook him, but when *Spartacus* rallied and faced them, they basely betook themselves to flight, and had much ado to carry off their *Questor* who was wounded; this Success ruined *Spartacus*, because it encouraged the Fugitives, who now disdained any longer to make a flying Fight, not to obey their Officers, but as they were upon their March, they came to them with their Swords in their Hands, and compelled them to lead them back again through *Lucania*, against the *Romans*, and to make what haste they could to find out *Crassus*; here News is brought that *Pompey* was at hand, and people used to talk openly, that the honour of this War was reserved for him, who would come and oblige the Enemy to fight, and certainly rout him. Whereupon *Crassus* desiring to fight, he encamped very near the Enemy and made Lines of Circumvallation, but the Slaves made a Sally, and attacqu'd the Pioneers; now as fresh Supplies came in, on either side, and *Spartacus* seeing there was no avoiding it, he set all his Army in Array, and when his Horse was brought him, he drew out his Sword, and killed him, saying, if he got
the

the day, he should have a great many better Horses of the Enemies, and if he lost it, he should have no need of this; so making directly towards *Crassus* himself, through Wounds and Darts he missed of him, but two Centurions that fell upon him together, he slew; at last being deserted by those that were about him, he himself stood his ground, and being surrounded by the Enemy, he bravely defending himself was cut in pieces. But though *Crassus* made use of his Fortune, and not only did the part of a General, but gallantly exposed his Person; yet *Pompey* shared in the honour of the Action, for he met with many that fled and slew them, so that he Wrote to the Senate, that *Crassus* indeed had Vanquished the Fugitives in a pitched Battle, but that he had put an end to the War. *Pompey* was honoured with a magnificent Triumph for his Conquest over *Sertorius* and *Spain*; but *Crassus* himself, could not so much as desire a Triumph, and it look'd meanly in him to accept of an Ovation for a Servile War, and pass through the City on Foot: (as to the Difference between Ovation and Triumph it is writ in the life of *Marcellus* :) And *Pompey* being immediately called to the Consulship, tho *Crassus* hoped to be joyned with him, he did not scruple to request his Assistance, who very readily

readily laid hold on that Opportunity, (for he desired by all means to lay some Obligation upon *Crassus*) and briskly furthered his Interest; and at last he declared in his Speech, that he was not less beholden to them for his Colleague, than for the Honour of the Office. But being entred upon the Employment, this Amity continued not long; but differing almost in every thing, clashing and maligning one another, the time of their Consulship passed without any matter of Consequence, except that *Crassus* made a great Sacrifice to *Hercules*, and feasted the People at ten thousand Tables, and measured them out Corn for three Months. Now as their Command was ready to expire, and they were making their farewell Speeches, a Roman Knight, one *Ovatus Aurelius*, a private Country-Gentlemen, mounted the *Rostrum*, and declared a Vision he had in his Sleep. *Jupiter*, says he, appeared to me, and commanded me to tell you, That you should not suffer your Consuls to lay down their Charge before they were made Friends. When he had spoke, the People cried out, that they should be reconciled. *Pompey* stood still and said nothing; but *Crassus* first offering him his hand, I cannot think, says he, my Country-men, that I do a mean thing, and unworthy my self, if I make the first Offers
of

of Accommodation and Friendship with *Pompey*, whom you your selves stiled *the Great*, before he was of Mans Estate, and decreed him a Triumph before he was capable of sitting in the Senate. This is what was memorable in *Crassus's* Consulship; but as for his Censorship, that was altogether idle and unactive; for he neither made a Scrutiny of the Senate, nor took a Review of the Gentry, nor an Account of the People, though he had as mild a Man as could be desired for his Colleague, *Lutatius Catulus*, though 'twas reported, that when *Crassus* intended a violent and unjust action, which was the reducing *Egypt* to be tributary to *Rome*, *Catulus* strongly opposed it, and falling out about it, they laid down their Office by consent. As for that great Conspiracy of *Catiline*, which was very near subverting the Government, *Crassus* was not without some suspicion of being concerned, and one man swore him in the Plot; but no body credited him, yet *Cicero* in one of his Orations, openly charges both *Crassus* and *Cæsar* with it, though that Speech was not published till they were both dead, and in that Speech which he made upon his being elected Consul, he declares that *Crassus* came to him by Night and brought a Letter concerning *Catiline* and confirming the Conspiracy, for which
Crassus

Crassus hated him ever after, but was hindered by his Son from doing him any Injury; for *Publius* was mightily addicted to Learning and Eloquence, and a constant follower of *Cicero*, insomuch that he put himself into Mourning for his Banishment, and oblig'd all the young Gentlemen to do the same; at last he reconciled him to his Father. Now *Cæsar* returning from his Command, and designing to get the Consulship, and seeing that *Crassus* and *Pompey* were again at Variance, was unwilling to disoblige one, by making application to the other, and despaired of success without the help of one of them; he therefore made it his business to reconcile them, making it appear, that by destroying one the other, they advanced the *Cicero's*, the *Catuli*, and the *Cato's*, who would really be of no Account, if they would joyn their Forces and Factions together, and so they might manage the Affairs of the Empire as they pleased; so they being reconciled by his Perswasion, they three set up an irresistible Power, which utterly subverted the Government, both as to Senate and People; not that he made them greater than they were before; but by their means made himself greatest of all; for by the Adherents of both he was gloriously declared Consul, which Office when he administered

ministred with Credit , they decreed him the Command of the Army, and allotted him *Gaul* for his Province, and so placed him as in the Cittadel, not doubting but they should divide the rest at pleasure , when they had confirmed him in the Command he desired. *Pompey* was moved hereto by an immoderate desire of Ruling ; but *Crassus* , adding to his old Disease of Covetousness, an affectation of Trophies and Triumphs, emulating *Cæsar's* Exploits, not content to be beneath those two, tho above all others, could never rest contented till it ended in an ingnominius Overthrow, and a Publick Calamity. When *Cæsar* came out of *Gaul* to *Luca*, a great many People went thither to meet him. *Pompey* and *Crassus* had various Conferences with him, how to get the whole management of Affairs into their hands, and subject every thing to their Power ; *Cæsar* to keep up his Army , and *Pompey* and *Crassus* to get new ones, and new Provinces, in which there was but one way, the getting the Consulate a second time, which they were to stand for, and *Cæsar* to assist them by writing to his Friends, and sending many of his Souldiers to vote ; but when they returned to *Rome* their Design was presently suspected, and a report was spread, that this interview was for no good. When

Marcel-

Marcellinus and *Domitius* asked *Pompey* in the Senate, If he intended to stand for the Consulship, he answered, Perhaps he would, perhaps not ; and being urged again, replied, He would ask it of the Honest Citizens , but not of the Dishonest. Which Answer appearing too haughty and arrogant, *Crassus* answered more civilly , He would desire it, if it might be for the advantage of the Publick, otherwise he would desist ; wherefore some others were daring enough to desire it, amongst which was *Domitius* ; but when such eminent Men appeared for it, the rest were frightened to give it over ; but *Cato* encouraged *Domitius* to proceed, who was his Friend and Relation, exciting him to persist, as though he was now defending the Publick Liberty, for they did not so much aim at the Consulship, as at Arbitrary Government , and this last was not a Petition for an Office , but a seizure of the Provinces and the Army. Thus spoke *Cato*, and he spoke his thoughts only, and almost compelled *Domitius* to appear at the *Forum*, where many sided with them ; for People admired what should make 'um desire the Consulship again, and why they two together, and not with some third Person ; we have a great many Men not unworthy to be Fellow-

Consuls with *Pompey* or *Crassus*; *Pompey's* Party being apprehensive of this, committed all Undecencies and Violencies, and, amongst other things, lay in wait for *Domitius*, as he was coming thither before day-break with other Company; his Torch-bearers they killed, and wounded several others, of which *Cato* was one: these being beat back and shut into a House, mean while the Consuls are declared; not long after they besieged *Domitius* his House, thrust *Cato* out of Doors, killed some that made resistance, and Decreed *Cæsar* his Command for Five years longer, and Provinces for themselves, *Syria*, and both the *Spains*, which being decided by Lots, *Syria* fell to *Crassus*, and the *Spains* to *Pompey*; they were both well-pleased with their Chance, for the People were desirous that *Pompey* should not go far from the City, and he being extremely fond of his Wife, was very glad to continue there; but *Crassus* was so transported with his Fortune, that 'twas manifest he never thought he had so good luck beset him as now; so that he had much ado to contain himself before Company and Strangers, but amongst his Confidants he blurted out many vain and childish things, which were unworthy of his Age, and contrary to his Nature, for he
was

was not much given to boasting in all his life besides ; but then being strangely puffed up, and his head heated, he would not limit his fortune with *Parthia* and *Syria*, but looking on the Actions of *Lucullus* against *Tygranes*, and the Exploits of *Pompey* against *Mithridates* but Childs-play, he proposed to himself in his hopes to pass beyond *Bactria* and *India*, and the utmost Ocean; not that he was obliged by his Office to undertake a Foreign Expedition, but 'twas well known that *Crassus* affected it, and *Cæsar* wrote to him out of *Gaul*, commending his resolution, and inciting him to the War; and when *Atteius* the Tribune of the People design'd to stop his Journey, for most men murmur'd, that one man should undertake a War against a People that had done them no injury, and were at Amity with them, he desired *Pompey* to stand by him and accompany him, for he had a great Authority amongst the Mobile, and when several were ready to rise and exclaim against it, *Pompey* appeared with a pleasing Countenance, and so mollified the People, that they let *Crassus* pass quietly; but *Atteius* met him, and first by word of mouth conjured him not to proceed, and then commanded his Sergeant to seize him and detain him; but the other

Tribunes not permitting it, they released *Crassus*; *Atteius* therefore running to the gate, whither, when *Crassus* was come, he kindled a fire in a Caldron, he offered Fumigations and Sacrifices, calling upon and naming several strange and horrible Deities, and cursed him with most dreadfull imprecations: now the *Romans* conceit there is so much Virtue in these sacred and ancient Rites, that no Man can escape the effects of them, and that the Conjuror himself seldom prospers; so that they are not often made use of, and that but upon a great occasion; so that *Atteius* was to be blamed to devote that City to such Calamities, upon whose account only he was so highly offended with *Crassus*. *Crassus* arrives at *Brundisium*, and though the Sea was very rough, he had not patience to wait, but went on Board, and lost many of his Ships, and with the remnant of his Army marched a foot through *Galatia*, where, meeting with King *Deiotarus*, who, though he was very old, was about building a New City; whereupon *Crassus* scoffingly, told him, Your Majesty begins to build at the 12th Hour. Neither do you, says he, O General, undertake your *Parthian* Expedition very early; for *Crassus* was then Threescore years old, and he seemed older than he was. At his first coming things went as he would have them,

them, for he made a Bridge over *Euphrates* without much difficulty, and passed over his Army in safety, and took in many Cities of *Mesopotamia*, which yielded themselves up voluntarily; but he lost a hundred of his Men before one, where *Apollonius* had usurped; wherefore drawing all his forces down he took it by Storm, plundered the Goods, and sold the Inhabitants; the *Greeks* call this City *Zenodotia*, upon the taking of which he permitted the Army to salute him Imperator, but it looked mean and poor, as if he despaired a Nobler Atchievement that was so exalted with this little Success; putting Garrisons of seven thousand Foot and one thousand Horse in the new Conquests, he return'd to take up his Winter Quarters in *Syria*, where his Son, a most accomplished Gentleman, met him coming from *Cæsar* out of *Gaul*, and brought with him 1000 select Horse; here *Crassus* seemed to commit his first Error, unless you will allow the whole Expedition to be one; for whereas he ought to have gone forward and seiz'd *Babylon* and *Seleucia*, Cities that were ever at enmity with the *Parthians*, he gave the Enemy time to provide against him; besides he spent his time there more like an Usurer than a General, for he took no account of the Arms, nor Discipline of his Soldiers, but in computing the Revenue of the Cities,

and weighing the Treasure that was in the Temple of *Hierapolis*, giving Commissions for levying of Soldiers, and dismissing them for Money, whereupon he lost his credit and became despicable; here he met with the first ill Omen from this Goddess, which some call *Venus*, others *Juno*, others *Nature*, or the Cause that produces all things out of Moisture, and instructs us in all good; for as they were going out of the Temple, young *Crassus* stumbled, and his Father fell upon him; when he drew his Army out of Winter quarters, Embassadors came to him from *Arfaces* with this short Speech; If the Army was sent by the People of *Rome*, he denounced a mortal War, and would give no quarter; but if (as he understood it was) that against the Consent of his Country, *Crassus* for his own ends had invaded his Country, then their King would be more merciful, and taking pity upon *Crassus* his dotage, would send back those Soldiers whom he looked upon rather besieged, than in a Garrison. *Crassus* vainly told them, he would return his Answer at *Seleucia*, whereat *Vagises* the Chief of them smiling, shew'd the Palm of his Hand, saying Hair will grow here before you will see *Seleucia*; so they returned to their King *Hyrodes*, telling him 'twas War. Several of the *Romans* that were in Garri-

son in *Mesopotamia*, with great hazard made their escape, and told them the danger was worth their Concern; for that they by *experience* knew the number of the Enemy, and the manner of their fighting, when they assaulted their Towns, (and as the manner is) they made it seem greater than really it was, that by flight it was impossible to escape them, and as impossible to overtake them when they fled, that they had new strange sort of *Weapons* as swift as light, that they pierced whatever they met with, before you could see who threw; their *Kataphracti*, or Arm'd Men at all points, were so provided as that they would beat down any thing, and give way to nothing; which when the Soldiers heard, their hearts failed them; for before they thought there was no difference between the *Parthians* and *Armenians*, or *Cappadocians*, who tyred *Lucullus* in following and pursuing of them, and were perswaded that the difficulty of the War consisted only in the tediousness of the March, and the trouble of chasing those that durst not come to handy blows, so that the danger of a Battel was beyond their expectation; wherefore the Officers advised *Crassus* to proceed no further at present, but take new Measures upon the whole; especially *Cassius* the *Questor*, and the Southsayers told him privately the

Omens were unlucky, and that the Sacrifices portended dismal Consequences; but he gave no heed to them or any body else, but those that exhorted him to proceed; nor did *Artabaces* King of *Armenia* confirm him a little, who came to his aid with 6000 Horse; these were said to be only the King's Life-guard, for he promised 10000 Curiaffiers more, and 30000 Foot at his own Charges; he perswaded *Crassus* to invade *Parthia* by the way of *Armenia*, for he would not only supply his Army with Forage, but his Passage would be more secure, by reason of the roughness of the Country, and a continued Chain of Mountains; which were almost impassable to Horse, in which the main strength of the *Parthians* consisted; *Crassus* returned him but cold thanks for his readiness to serve him, and the Splendour of his Assistance, and told him he was resolved to pass through *Mesopotamia*, where he had left a great many brave *Roman* Soldiers, whereupon the *Armenian* went his way. As *Crassus* was passing his Army by *Zeugma*, many strange and supernatural Thunders were heard, and the Lightning flashed upon the Army, and during the Storm a Hurricane broke down the Bridge, and carried part of it away, and two Thunderbolts fell upon the very place where the Army was going to Encamp,

Encamp, and one of the General's Horses famously caparison'd, broke from the Groom, leap'd into the River, and was seen no more; and when they went to take up the great Standard, the Eagle turned its head backward, and after he had passed over his Army, as they were distributing Provisions, they first gave Lentils and Salt, which the *Romans* account ominous, being what is set before the dead. And as *Crassus* was haranging his Soldiers, he let fall a Word which struck a great terror in the Army; for, said he, I will break down the Bridge, that none of you may return; and whereas he ought when he had perceived his blunder to have corrected himself, and explained his meaning to those that were so concerned at it, he wou'd not do it out of meer stubbornness; and when at the last general Sacrifice the Priest gave him the Entrails, they slipt out of his hand, and when he saw the standers by concerned at it, he laugh'd and said, See what 'tis to be an old Man, but I'll hold my Sword fast enough; so marching his Army along the River with seven Legions, little less than 4000 Horse, and as many light armed Soldiers, the Scouts returning, declaring that not one Man appeared, but that they saw the footing of a great many Horses which seem'd to retire and fly; whereupon *Crassus* conceived

ceived great hopes, and the *Romans* began to despise the *Parthians*, as men that would not come to handy-strokes; but *Cassius* and the rest advised him to refresh his Army in some of the Garrison Towns, and remain there till they could get some certain Intelligence of the Enemy, at least to make toward *Seleucia*, and keep by the River, that so they might have the convenience of Ships to bring him Provisions, which might always accompany the Army, and the River would secure them from being environed, and if they should fight it might be upon equal terms. As *Crassus* was considering hereupon, there came to the Camp an *Arabian* Tribune named *Ariamnes*, a cunning subtle Fellow, and one which was the chief cause of all the misfortune that befell them; some of *Pompey's* old Soldiers knew him, for he had serv'd with them under him; and had received some Kindnesses of him, and was looked upon as a Friend to the *Romans*, but was now suborned by the King's Officers, and sent to *Crassus* to entice him if possible from the River and Hills into the Plain, where he might be surrounded, for the *Parthians* desired any thing rather than to be obliged to meet the *Romans* face to face; he therefore coming to *Crassus* (and he had his Tongue well hung) highly commended *Pompey* as his Benefactor, and admired

mired the Forces that *Crassus* had with him, but seemed to wonder why he delayed and made Preparations, as if he should not use his Feet more than his Arms, against those Men that taking with them their best Goods and Chattels, had designed long ago to fly for refuge to the *Scythians* or *Hyrca-nians*; but supposing they were to fight, at least he ought to make what hast he could, before the King could recover Courage, and get his Forces together; for you see *Surena* and *Syllaces* are opposed to you, to hinder your further progress, but the King himself does not appear; but this was all a Lye, for *Hyrodes* had divided his Army into two parts, with one he in Person wasted *Armenia*, revenging himself upon *Artuafdes*, and sent *Surena* against the *Romans*, not out of Contempt as some pretend, for there is no likelihood that he should despise *Crassus*, one of the Chiefest men of *Rome*, to go and fight with *Artuafdes*, and invade *Armenia*; but for my part I believe he apprehended the danger, and therefore he expected the Event, and that *Surena* should first run the hazard of a Battel and circumvent the Enemy: Nor was this *Surena* an ordinary Person, but for Wealth, Family, and Authority, the second man in the Kingdom, but for Courage and Prowess he was the first, neither was any one so large sized, or so well shaped;

shaped; whenever he travelled alone he had 1000 Camels to carry his Baggage, 200 Chariots full of *Concubines*, 1000 compleatly Arm'd men for his Life-Guards, and a great many more light Arm'd, and at least 10000 of his Servants and Retinue, and the Honour had long belonged to his Family, that at the King's Coronation he put the *Crown* upon his Head, and when this very King *Hyrodes* had been exiled, he brought him in; 'twas he that took the great City of *Seleucia*, was the first Man that scaled the Walls, and with his own hand beat off the Defendants, and though at that time he was not above 30 years old, he was counted as wise and discreet; wherein he had much the advantage of *Crassus*, who was easy to be imposed upon, first through his overweening confidence, and afterwards because he was dastarded and cow'd by his *Calamities*. When *Ariamnes* had thus work'd upon him, he drew him from the Rivers into vast Plains, by a way that at first was pleasant and easie, but afterwards very troublesome by reason of the depth of the Sand, not a Tree, not any Water, and no end of this to be seen; so that they were not only spent with thirst, and the difficulty of the passage; but the uncomfortable Prospect of not a bough, not a stream, not a hillock, not a green herb, dismayed them quite, but an odd kind

kind of a Sea of Sand, which encompassed the Army with its Waves. Here they began to suspect some Treachery, and at the same time came Messengers from *Artuasdes*, that he was engaged in a bloody War with *Hyrodes*, that had invaded his Country, so that now 'twas impossible for him to send him any succours. Wherefore he advised *Crassus* to turn back, and with joynt Forces to give *Hyrodes* Battle, or at least that he should so March and Encamp where Horses could not easily come, and keep to the Mountains. *Crassus* out of Anger and Vanity, writ him no Answer, but told them, At present he was not at leisure to mind the *Armenians*, but he would call upon them another time, and revenge himself upon *Artuasdes* his Treachery. Here *Cassius* his Party began again to complain, but when they perceived how much *Crassus* was displeased, they gave him over, but privately rail'd at the *Barbarian*. What evil Genius, O thou worst of Men, brought thee to our Camp, and with what charms and potions hast thou bewitched *Crassus*, that he should march his Army through a vast and deep Desert, through ways which are rather fit for a Captain of *Arabian* Robbers, than the General of a *Roman* Army? But the *Barbarian* being a very subtle fellow, very submissively exhorted them,

them, and encouraged them to sustain it a little farther, but ran about the Camp, and under pretence of cheering up the Souldiers, asked them in scoff, What do you think you march through *Campania*, expecting every where to find Springs, and Shades, and Baths, and Inns of Entertainment, consider you now travel the Confines of *Arabia* and *Assyria*. Thus he managed them like Children, and before the cheat was discovered, he rode away, not but that *Crassus* was privy to his going, but he had perswaded him, that he would go and contrive how to disorder the Affairs of the Enemy; and it was observed that *Crassus* came not abroad that day in his Scarlet Robe, which *Roman* Generals use to wear, but in a black one, which, as soon as he perceived, he changed. And the Standard-Bearers had much ado to take up their Eagles, which seemed to be fixed to the place; *Crassus* laught at it, and hastened their March, and compelled his Infantry to keep pace with his Cavalry, till some few of the Scouts returned, and told them that their Fellows were slain, and they hardly escaped, that the Enemy was at hand, resolved to give them Battel; here all was in an uproar, *Crassus* was struck into an amaze, and, for hast, could not put his Army in good order. First therefore, as *Cassius* advised, they
opened

opened their Ranks and Files, that they might take up as much space as could be, to prevent their being furrounded, and distributed the Horse into the Wings, but afterwards changing his Mind, he drew up his Army in a square, and made a Front every way, each of which consisted of Twelve Companies, to everyone of which he allotted a Troop of Horse, that no part might be destitute of the Assistance that the Horse might give, and that they might be ready to assist every where, as need should require; *Crassus* Commanded one of the Wings, young *Crassus* t'other, and himself was in the middle; thus they marched on till they came to a little River named *Bolissus*, a very inconsiderable one in it self, but very grateful to the Soldiers, who had suffered so much by Drought and Heat all along their march. Most of the Commanders were of the opinion, that they ought to remain there that night, and to inform themselves as much as possible of the number of the Enemies and their Order, and so march against them at break of Day, but *Crassus* was so exalted at the eagerness of his Son, and the Horsemen that were with him, who desired and urged him to lead them on, and engage, that he Commanded those that had a mind to it, to eat and drink as they stood in their Ranks; and before they
had

had all well done, he led them on, not leisurely and by stops, as if he was going to Battel, but kept on his pace as if he had been in haste, till they saw the Enemy, contrary to their expectation, neither so many nor so magnificently Armed as the *Romans* expected, for *Surena* had hid his main Force behind the first ranks and ordered them to hide the glittering of their Armour, with Coats and Skins; but when they approached and the General gave the Signal, immediately all the field rung with a hideous noise, and terrible clamour; for the *Parthians* do not encourage themselves to War, with Cornets and Trumpets, but with a kind of Kettle Drum which makes a dead, and solemn noise, like the Bellowing of Beasts, mixt with something like thunder; for they well considered that the sense of hearing, which receives the first impressions, most easily disturbs the Mind, and subverts the understanding. When they had sufficiently terrified the *Romans* with their noise, they threw off the covering of their Armour, they shone like lightening in their Breast plates, and Helmets polished and furbished, and made of *Margianian* Steel, and their Horses were covered with Brass and Steel Trappings. *Surena* was the tallest and comeliest Man himself. And the Sweetness of his Looks, and Effeminacy of his Habit, could

could not promise so much Manhood, as he really was Master of; for his Face was Painted, and his Hair parted, after the fashion of the *Medes*, whereas the other *Parthians* look'd more terrible, with their hair shaggy, after the *Scythian* Mode. Their first design was with their Launces to beat down, and force back the first Ranks of the *Romans*, but when they perceived the depth of their Battel, and that the Soldiers kept their ground, they made a retreat, and pretending to separate and break their Orders, they encompassed the *Romans* round, ere they were aware of it; then *Crassus* Commanded his Light Armed Soldiers to charge in, but they had not gone far, before they were received with such a shower of Arrows, that they were glad to retire amongst the heavy-Armed, which was the first occasion of their disorder and terror, when they perceived the strength and force of their Darts, which pierced and broke their Arms, Body and all. Now the *Parthians* divided themselves and began to shoot from all sides, not aiming at any particular, for indeed the order of the *Romans* was so close, that they could not miss if they would, and Arrows being forced out of strong bent Bows, the strokes were very violent. Now was the state of the *Romans* desperate, for if they kept their ranks, they were wounded, and if they charged, though they hurt the Enemy ne'er

the more, they suffer'd ne'er the less. For the *Parthians* threw their Darts when they fled, an Art, which none but the *Scythians* are better practis'd in, and 'tis cunningly contriv'd; for while they thus fight to make their escape, they avoid the dishonour of a Flight; however the *Romans* had some comfort to think, that when they had spent all their Arrows, they would either give over, or come to Handy-strokes; but when they understood there were several Camels loaded with Arrows, and when the first Ranks had discharged those they had, they wheeled off, and took more; *Crassus* seeing no end of it, was out of all heart, but sent to his Son that he should endeavour to fall in upon them, before he was quite surrounded; for the Enemy charged mostly upon that Quarter, and rode about that they might come behind him; wherefore the young Man taking with him 1300 Horse (1000 of which he had from *Cæsar*) 500 Archers, and Eight Companies of his best Armed Soldiers that stood next him, he led them up with design to charge the *Parthians*. Whether it was that they feared to stand an Army in so good Array, (as some think) or else designing to entice young *Crassus*, as far as they could, from his Father, pretended to fly; whereupon he crying out, That they durst not stand, pursued them, and with him *Censorinus* and *Vegabacchus*,

gabacchus, both famous, one for his Courage and Prowess, the other for being of a Noble Family, and an excellent Orator, both Intimates of *Crassus*, and his Contemporaries. The Horse thus pushing on, the Infantry staid little behind, being exalted with hopes and joy, for they supposed they had already Conquered, and now were only pursuing, till, when they were gone too far, they perceiv'd the Deceit; for they that seemed to fly, now turned again, and a great many fresh ones came on; hereupon they made an Halt, for they doubted not but now the Enemy would Attack them, because they were so few, but they placed their Curiaffiers against the *Romans*, and with the rest of their Horse, rode about scowring the field, and stirring up the sand, they raised such a Dust, that the *Romans* could neither see nor speak to one another, and, for want of room, tumbling upon one another, they were slain, not by a quick and easie Death, but with intolerable pain and convulsions; for, rowling among the Darts, they lingered away of their Wounds, and when they would, by force, pluck out the barbed Arrows, they caught hold of the Nerves and Veins, so that they tore and tortured themselves; many of them Died thus, and those that survived were Disabled for any service, and when *Publius* exhorted them to charge the Curiaffiers, they shew-

ed him their Hands nailed to their Shields, and their Feet stuck to the ground, so that they could neither fly nor fight; wherefore he charged in briskly with his Horse, and made a gallant Onset; but the Fight was very unequal, either as to the offensive or defensive part; for the *Romans* with their weak and little Javelins, struck against Targets that were of tough raw Hides, or Steel; whereas the naked Bodies of the *Gauls* were exposed to the strong Spears of the Enemy; for upon these he mostly depended, and with them he wrought Wonders; for they would catch hold of their Spears, and seize upon the Enemy, and so pull them off from their Horses, where they could scarce stir by reason of the heaviness of their Armour, and many of them quitting their own Horses, would creep under those of the Enemy, and stick them into the Belly; which growing unruly, by reason of the pain, trampled upon their Riders, and Enemies promiscuously. The *Gauls* were chiefly tormented by reason of the Heat and Drought, being not accustomed to them; and most of their Horses were slain, by being spurred on against the Spears, so that they were forced to retire among the Foot, bearing off *Publius* grievously wounded: Observing a sandy Hillock, not far off, they made to it; tying therefore their Horses to one another, and placing them

them in the midst, and joyning all their Shields together, before them, they thought they might make some Defence against the *Barbarians*, but it fell out quite contrary, for when they were drawn up in a Plain, the Front, in some measure, secured those that were behind, but when they were upon the Hill, one being higher than another, there was no avoiding of it, but all were equally exposed, bewailing their Inglorious and useless Fate. There were with *Publius* two *Greeks*, that lived near there at *Carras*, *Hieronymus*, and *Nichomachus*, they perswaded him to retire with them to *Icnas*, a Town not far from thence, and Allie of the *Romans*. No, said he, there is no death so terrible, for the fear of which *Publius* would leave his Friends that die upon his Account; but wishing them to take care of themselves, he embraced them and sent them away, and because he could not use his Arm, for he was run through with a Spear, he opened his Side to his Armour-Bearer, and Com-manded him to run him through; and 'twas said, that *Censorinus* fell after the same manner, *Vegabacchus* slew himself, as also the rest of best note, and the *Parthians* coming upon the rest with their Lances, killed them fighting, nor were there above 500 taken Prisoners; cutting off the head of *Publius*, they directly march towards *Crassus*; and this was the posture of Affairs, when he had

commanded his Son to fall upon the Enemy, and word was brought him that they were fled, and perceiving that the Enemy did not press upon him so hard as formerly, for they were gone to fall upon *Publius*, he began to take heart a little; and drawing his Army into a convenient place, expected when his Son would return from the pursuit of those whom he thought defeated (as soon as he saw his danger) the first Messengers were intercepted by the Enemy, and slain, the last hardly escaping came and declared, That *Publius* was lost, unless he had speedy Succours; *Crassus* was mightily distracted, not knowing what Counsel to take, being fearful for the main Chance, and desirous to help his Son, at last he resolved to move with his Forces: Just upon this, up came the Enemy with their shouts and noises, now more terrible, with their Drums astonishing the *Romans*, who now feared a fresh engagement; and they that brought *Publius* his Head upon the point of a Spear, when they were come so near that it could be known, scoffingly enquired where were his Parents, and what Family he was of, for 'twas impossible that so brave and gallant a Gentleman, should be the Son of so pitiful a Coward as *Crassus*: This sight, above all the rest, dismayed the *Romans*, for it did not incite them to courage as it ought to have done, but to horror and trembling, though

though they say, *Crassus* out-did himself in this Calamity, for he passed through the ranks, and cried out to them: This, dear Country-men, is my own peculiar Loss, but the Fortune and the Glory of *Rome* is safe and untainted so long as you are safe, but if any one be concerned for my loss of the best of Sons, let him shew it in revenging him upon the Enemy: Take away their joy, revenge their Cruelty, nor be dismayed at what is past; for whoever attempts great matters must suffer something: Neither did *Lucullus* overthrow *Tigranes* without Bloodshed, nor *Scipio* *Antiochus*: Our Ancestors have lost 1000 Ships about *Sicily*, and how many Generals and Captains in *Italy*? None of which notwithstanding failed to overthrow the Conquerors, for the State of *Rome* did not arrive to this height by Fortune, but by perseverance and virtue. While *Crassus* thus spake, exhorting them, he saw but few that gave much heed to him, and when he ordered them to shout for the Battel, he found the deadness of heart of his Army, which made but a faint and weak noise, but the shout of the Enemy was clear and bold, and when they came to the business, the Horsemen riding about shot their Arrows, and the foremost ranks with their Spears drove the *Romans* close together, except those who rush'd upon them for fear of being killed by their Arrows. Neither did

these do much Execution, being quickly dispatched, for the strong thick Spear made great Wounds, and often run through two Men at once ; as they were thus fighting, the Night coming on parted them, the *Parthians* boasting that they would indulge *Crassus* one Night to mourn his Son, unless upon better consideration he would rather go to *Asfages*, than be carried to him ; and therefore took up their Quarters near them, being flush'd with their Victory : But the *Romans* had a sad Night of it, for neither taking care for the Burial of their dead , nor the Cure of the Wounds, nor the Groans of the expiring, every one bewailed his own Fate : For there was no means of escaping. Whether they should stay for the Light , or venture to retreat into the vast Desert in the Dark , and now the Wounded Men gave them new trouble , for to take them with them would retard their flight, and if they should leave them, they might serve as Guides to the Enemy by their Crys, but however they were desirous to see and hear *Crassus* , though they were sensible he was the cause of all their Mischief ; but he retired and hid himself, where he lay as an Example of Fortune to the Vulgar, but to the Wise an Example of Inconsiderateness and Ambition: Who, not content to be Superior to so many Millions of Men, but being inferiour to two, esteemed himself as the lowest

lowest of all. Then came *Octavius* his Lieutenant General, and *Cassius* to comfort him, but he being altogether struck senseless, they called together the Centurions, and Officers, and agreeing that the best way was to fly, they ordered the Army to march without sound of Trumpet, and at first with silence; but when the disabled Men found they were left behind, a strange Confusion and Tumult, with an Outcry and Lamentation seized the Camp, and a trembling and dread fell upon them, as if the Enemy were at their heels; by which means now and then turning back, now and then standing to their order, sometimes taking up the Wounded that followed, sometimes laying of them down, they wasted the time, (except 300 Horse) whom *Ignatius* brought safe to *Carrae* about midnight; where calling to the Watch, as soon as they heard him, he bid them tell *Coponius* the Governour, that *Crassus* had fought a very great Battel with the *Parthians*; having said but this, and not so much as telling his Name, he rid away at speed to *Zeugma*: 'Tis true, by this means he saved himself and his Men, but he lost his Reputation by deserting his General; but however his Message to *Coponius* was for the advantage of *Crassus*, for suspecting by this hasty and confused delivery of himself, that all was not well, he immediately ordered the Garrison to be in Arms,
and

and as soon as he understood, that *Crassus* was upon the way towards him, he went out to meet him, and received him with his Army into the Town; but the *Parthians*, although they perceived their dislodgment in the Night, yet did not pursue them, but as soon as it was day, they came upon those that were left in the Camp, and put no less than 4000 of them to the Sword, and with their light-Horſe pick'd up a great many straglers; *Vargontinus* the Legate broke off from the main Body with about three Cohorts, which strayed out of the way, the *Parthians* encompassing these in an eminence, slew every Man of them excepting twenty, who with their drawn Swords forced their way through the thickest, and they admiring their Courage, opened their Ranks to the right and left, and let them pass without any further molestation, to *Carraë*.

Soon after a false report was brought to *Syrena*, that *Crassus* with his principal Officers had escap'd, and that those who were got into *Carraë*, were but a confused Rout of insignificant People not worth further pursuit. Supposing therefore that he had lost the very Crown and Glory of his Victory, and yet being uncertain whether it were so or not, and therefore not able to resolve, whether he should besiege *Carraë* or follow *Crassus*, he sent one of his Interpre-

ters

ters to the Walls, commanding him in *Latin* to call *Crassus* or *Cassius*; for that the General *Syrena* had a mind to treat with him; as soon as *Crassus* heard this he embrac'd the Proposal, and soon after came up a Band of *Arabians*, who very well knew the faces of *Crassus* and *Cassius*, as having been frequently in the *Roman* Camp before the Battel. They having espied *Cassius* from the Wall, told him that *Syrena* desired a Peace, and would give them safe Convoy, if they would make a League with the King his Master, and withdraw all their Garrisons out of *Mesopotamia*, and this he thought most advisable for them both, before things came to extremity. *Cassius* greedily embracing the Proposal, desired that a time and place might be appointed, where *Crassus* and *Syrena* might have an interview. The *Arabians* having charged themselves with the Message, went back to *Syrena*, who was not a little rejoiced, that *Crassus* would stand a Siege; next day therefore he came up with his Army, insulting over the *Romans*, and haughtily demanding of them *Crassus* and *Cassius* bound, if they expected any mercy; the *Romans*, seeing themselves deluded and mock'd, were much troubled at it, and advising *Crassus* to lay aside his long and empty Hopes of aid from the *Armenians*, resolved to fly for it; and this Design ought to have been kept private,

private, till they were upon their way, but *Crassus* could not conceal it from the Villain *Andromachus*, nay he was so infatuated, as to chuse him for his Guide. The *Parthians* then to be sure had punctual intelligence of all that passed; but it being forbid to them by the Laws of their Country, and no less difficult to fight by Night, *Crassus* chose that time to set out in, and the trusty *Andromachus*, lest he should get the start too far of his Pursuers, led him into Morasses, and places full of Ditches and Inclosures, so that it was exceeding painful and vexatious to his Company, and some there were who supposing by these Windings and Turnings of *Andromachus*, that no good was intended, resolved to follow him no further; and at last *Cassius* himself returned to *Carræ*, and his Guides the *Arabians* advising him to tarry there till the Moon was got out of *Scorpio*, he told them, that he was most afraid of *Sagittarius*; and they with 500 Horse left, him and went in to *Assyria*. Others there were, who having got honest Guides, took their way by the Mountains, and got into places of security by day-break; these were 5000, under the Command of *Octavius*, a very gallant Man; but *Crassus* fared worse, for *Andromachus* had so intangled him in the Fens and rough Ways, that before he could get clear of them, the *Parthians* were at his Heels.

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There were with him four Cohorts of Legionary Soldiers, a very few Horsemen, with whom having with great difficulty got into the way, and not being above a Mile and half from *Octavius*, instead of going to joyn him, he retreated unto another Hill, neither so defensible nor unpassable for the Horse, but yet lying under the Hills of *Sinnaca*, and continued in a long Ridge through the Plains, *Octavius* could see in what danger the General was; and himself, at first but slenderly followed, came in to the rescue. Soon after the rest upbraiding one another with Baseness, in forsaking their Officers, marched down, and falling upon the *Parthians*, drove them from the Hill, and compassing *Crassus* about, and fencing him with their Shields, they declared that their General should never lie exposed to a *Parthian* Arrow, so long as there was a Man of them left alive; *Syrena* therefore perceiving his Soldiers grew faint in their Attaque, and knowing that if the *Romans* should spin out the Battel till Night, they might then gain the Mountains, and be out of his reach, he betook himself to his usual Craft; for some of the Prisoners were set free, who had heard a contrived discourse in the Camp, that the King did not design a War to be pursued with the utmost extremity against the *Romans*, but rather by his gentle Treatment of *Crassus*, to make a step towards
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Reconciliation of the two Empires; and the *Barbarians* desisted from fighting, *Syrena* himself going gently to the Hill, unbent his Bow, and held out his Hand, inviting *Crassus* to an Agreement, and withal assured him, that it was besides the Kings intentions, that they had thus far shewn their Valour and Force; that now he desired no other contention but that of Kindness and Friendship, by making a firm Alliance, and permitting them to go away in safety: These Words of *Syrena* some received joyfully and accepted the Offer; but *Crassus*, who had had sufficient experience of their Perfidiousness; and not being able to assign any Reason of the sudden Change, would give no ear to them, and only took time to consider; but the Soldiers cried out and advised him to treat, afterwards upbraided and affronted him, saying, *That it was very unreasonable that he should bring them to fight with such Men Armed, whom himself without their Arms durst not look in the Face.* He tried first to prevail with them by Intreaties, and told them, *That if they would have patience till Evening, they might get into the Mountains and Passes, inaccessible for Horse, and so be out of danger of the Parthian Darts;* and withal he pointed out the Way with his Hand, entreating them *not to neglect their Preservation, which presented it self to them.* But when they mutinied, and
clash'd

clash'd their Targets in a threatening manner, he was overpower'd and forced to go, and turning about at parting, said, *Tou, Octavius and Petronius, and the rest of the Commanders which are present, you see the necessity of going, which I lie under, and ye cannot but be sensible of the Indignities and Violence which is offered to my Person; however out of tenderness to the Honour of the Romans, declare to all the World, that Crassus perish'd rather by the subtilty of his Enemies, than by the Treason and Perfidiousness of his Friends and Country-men. But Octavius would not stay there, but with Petronius, went down from the Hill; as for the Lictors, Crassus bid them be gone. The first that met him were two half-blood Grecians, who leaping from their Horses, made a profound Reverence to Crassus, and desired him (in Greek) to send some before him, who might see that Syrena himself was coming towards them, his retinue disarmed, and not having so much as their wearing Swords along with them; but Crassus answered, That if he had but the least Concern for his Life, he would never have intrusted himself in their Hands; but sent two Brothers the *Roscii* by name, to take an account how accoutred, and in what numbers they came, and then Syrena ordered immediately to be seized, and himself with his principal Officers came up to him*

him upon the Spur, and greeting him, says he, *This is a most undecent Spectacle, a Roman Emperor on Foot, whilst I and my Train are on Horse-back*: But *Crassus*, replied, That there was no error committed on either side, for they both met according to the custom of their own Country, *Syrena* told him that from that time there was a League betwixt the King his Master and the *Romans*, but that *Crassus* must go with him to the River to sign it, for you *Romans* (says he) are something forgetful of your Articles and Agreements, and therefore need some remarkable sign to keep it in your Memory, and withal reacht out his Hand to him. *Crassus* therefore gave order that one of his Padds should be brought, *Syrena* told him there was no need he should put himself to that trouble, for the King his Master presents him with one; and immediately, a Horse with a Golden Bit, and very rich Trappings, was brought up to him, and himself was forcibly put into the Saddle, and his Gentlemen switcht the Horse to make the more hast; but *Octavius* running up got hold of the Bridle, and soon after one of the Colonels with *Petronius* and the rest of the Company came in striving to stop the Horse, and pulling back those who on both sides of him forced *Crassus* forward. Thus from pulling and thrusting one another, they came to a Tumult, and

and soon after to blows. *Octavius* drawing his Sword killed a Groom of one of the *Barbarians*, and one of them getting behind *Octavius* killed him, *Petronius* was not Armed, but being struck on the Breast, he fell down from his Horse, though without hurt; one *Pomaxaitbres* killed *Crassus*, others say it was another, and that this man only cut off his Head and right Hand; for as for those that were by, they had not leisure to observe Particulars, being either killed fighting about *Crassus*, or using their heels to get to their Comrades on the Hill. But the *Parthians* coming upon them, and saying that *Crassus* had the punishment he justly deserved, *Syrena* bid the rest to come down from the Hill without fear; some of them came down and surrendered themselves, others were scattered up and down in the Night, (a very few of which got safe home) and others the *Arabians*, beating the field, hunted and put to Death. It is generally said, that in all 20000 Men were slain, and 10000 taken Prisoners, but *Syrena* sent the Head and Hand of *Crassus* to *Hyrodes* the King, into *Armenia*; but himself by his Messengers scattering a Report, That he was bringing *Crassus* alive to *Seleucia*, made a ridiculous Procession, which by way of scorn he call'd a Triumph. For one *Caius Pacianus*, who of all the Prisoners was most like to *Crassus*, being put into the Habit of the *Barbarians*,

and instructed to take the Title of *Crassus* and Emperor from those who spoke to him, was brought sitting upon his Horse, but before him went a parcel of *Trumpeters* and *Lictors* upon their Camels; the Girdles and Purfes of the *Romans* were hung as the end of the Bundles of Rods, and the Heads of the slain, fresh bleeding, at the end of their Axes; after them followed the *Seleucian* Minstrelsie making abundance of scurrilous and abusive Reflections, upon the Effeminacy and Cowardliness of *Crassus*, with a musical Cadence; and this Show was seen by every Body: but *Syrena* calling together the Senate of *Seleucia*, shewed to them a wanton Book of *Aristides*, called his *Milesia*; neither was this a Forgery, for it was found amongst the Spoys of *Roscius*, and was a good subject for *Syrena* to droll upon the *Romans*, who were not able even in the time of War to forbear such wanton Writings and Practices; but the people of *Seleucia*, had reason to

He alludes
to Æsop's
Fable of
the Sack,
that we put
our own
faults in
the bottom,
and other
Mens in
the top of it.

commend the Wisdom of *Æsop's* Fable of the Sack, seeing their General *Syrena* carrying a bag full of loose *Milesian* Sonnets before him, but drawing after him a whole *Parthian Syberis*, or Brothel-house, if I may so call it, with so many Coaches full of his Wenches, which might well be compared to *Vipers* and *Aspes*; for he resembled that Fable, where the Front looks great and terrible with Spears and Arrows, and Darts, and Horsemen, but the Rear

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consisted of loose Women, and Minstrels, and Players on Castianetta's, and all Instruments of Luxury. *Roscus* indeed is not to be excused, but sure the *Parthians* had forgot (when they mock'd at the *Milesiaca*) that many of the Royal Line of their *Arfacidæ*, had been born of *Milesian* and *Ionian* Strumpets. Whilst these things were doing, *Hyrodes* had struck up a Peace with the King of *Armenia*, and made a match betwixt his Son and the King of *Armenia's* Daughter, their Feastings and Entertainments were very Sumptuous, and sometimes some *Grecian* Compositions, suitable to the Occasion, were recited amongst them, for *Hyrodes* was not altogether ignorant of the *Greek* Language, but *Artusades* was so expert in it, as that he wrote Tragedies and Orations, and Histories, some of which are still extant. When the head of *Crassus* was brought to the Door, the Table was just taken away, and one *Jason* an Actor of Tragedies sung the Scene in the *Bacchæ* of *Eurypides* concerning *Agave*, he having gotten a great deal of Applause. *Sillaces* coming into the Room, and having ador'd the King, threw down the head of *Crassus* into the midst of the Company, the *Parthians* taking it up with Joy, and Acclamations, *Sillaces* by the King's order was made to sit down, but *Jason* laid aside the Person of *Pentheus*, and taking up the head

of *Crassus*, and acting one inspired by *Bacchus*, he, in a rapturous and Enthusiastical manner, pronounced these words.

A. G. *We've hunted down a mighty stag to day,
And from the Mountains bring a Noble prey.*

Cho. *What happy hand the fatal Monster slew?*

A. G. *I claim that honour to my Courage due.*

And this humour took wonderfully, but in the recital of those Verses, who slew him, &c. *Pomaxaithres* who happened to be at Supper, started up and would have got the head into his own hands, for it is my due, says he, and no Mans else. The King was hugely pleased at this scuffle, and according to the Custom of the *Parthians*, gave large rewards to them, and to *Jason* the Actor he gave a Talent. Thus truly *Tragical* was the end of *Crassus's* Expedition, but yet the divine Justice, failed not to punish both *Hyrodes* for his Cruelty, and *Syrena's* Perjury; for *Syrena* not long after was put to death by *Hyrodes*, out of meer envy to his Glory; and *Hyrodes* himself having lost his Son *Paccoras* (who was slain in a fight with the *Romans*) falling into a Disease which turned to a Dropsie, had Aconite given him by his second Son *Phraates*: the Poyson working only upon the Disease, and carrying away the Dropsical matter with it, the King began to recover on the sudden, so that *Phraates* at length was forced to take the shortest course and stifled him with his Pillow. The

The Comparison of Crassus with Nicias.

IN the Comparison of these two, first if we compare the Estate of *Nicias* with that of *Crassus*, we must acknowledge *Nicias's* to be more honestly got; for otherwise indeed one cannot much approve of enriching ones self by labouring of Mines, the greatest part of which is done by Malefactors and *Barbarians*, some of them too bound, and others perishing in those close and unwholesome places; but yet, if we compare this with the Sequestrations of *Sylla*, and *Crassus's* undertaking to build Houses ruined by Fire, we shall then think *Nicias* came very honestly by his Money; but *Crassus* publickly and professedly made use of those Arts, as other Men do of Husbandry, and putting out their Money to Interest; but to deny that his Voice was venal in the Senate, though it was proved upon him; to do Injustice to his Allies, and to court Widows to be made their Heir, and for advantage to conceal Criminals; these are things of which *Nicias* never fell under the least suspicion; nay he was rather laugh'd at for giving Money to Sycophants, meerly out of timorousness; a Course indeed that would by no means become *Pericles* and *Aristides*; but necessary for him, who by nature was destitute of good Assurance: And this *Lycurgus* the O-

rator frankly acknowledged to the People; for when he was accused for buying off an Evidence, he said that he was very much pleased, that having administred their Affairs for so long a time, he was at last accused rather for giving than receiving. Again, *Nicias* in his Expences was of a more Publick Spirit than *Crassus*, priding himself much in the Dedication of Temples, endowing of Schools, and adorning Processions; but the Expences of *Crassus*, only in Feasting so many *Myriads* of People, was much greater than the whole Estate of *Nicias*, together with what he spent upon good accounts; so that here we may see confirmed that old Observation, *That Vice is an unequal thing, and unsupportable to it self*: For what these two great Persons infamously got, they expended very honourably. And let so much be said of their Estates. As for their Management of Publick Affairs, I see not that any Craft, or Injustice, or Arbitrary Action can be objected to *Nicias*; but *Crassus* is generally blamed for his changeableness in his Friendships and Enmities, for his Unfaithfulness, and his Ungentleman-like Proceedings; for he himself could not deny, that to compass the Consulship, he hired men to lay violent Hands upon *Domitius* and *Cato*. Then at the Meeting for the disposing of the Proconsulships, many were wounded, and four
cutright

outright killed. And this puts me in mind of a Passage, which I had forget in the Relation of his Life, That he struck with his Fist one *Lucius Analius* a Senator, for contradicting of him, and drove him out of the Court bleeding. As *Crassus* was to be blamed for his Tyrannical and Arbitrary Courses so is *Nicias* no less to be blamed for his timorousness and meanness of Spirit which made him submit himself to the meanest and most profligate sort of Villains; but in this respect, *Crassus* shewed himself more Noble-spirited and Magnanimous. who having to do, not with such as *Cleon* or *Hyperbolus*, but with the Magnificence of *Cæsar*, and the three Triumphs of *Pompey*, would not stoop, but bravely bore up against their Joint-interests; and in the Office of Censor he surpassed the Dignity even of *Pompey* himself: For a Minister that truly loves his Country, ought not to regard how invidious the thing is, but how noble and useful, and by the greatness of his Interest to overpower Envy; but if he will be always aiming at security and quiet, and yield to *Alcibiades* upon the Bench and to the *Lacedæmonians* at *Pylus*, there are opportunities enough of retirement, and he may sit out of the noise of Business, and weave to himself Garlands of dull and quiet Inactivity. His desire of Peace indeed, and to finish that tedious War, was

a Divine and truly *Grecian* Design; nor does *Crassus* deserve to be compared to him on this account, although he had enlarged the *Roman* Empire from the *Caspian* Sea to the *Indian* Ocean. However in a State where there is some sense of Vertue left, a powerful Man ought not to give way to the ill-affected, or expose the Government to those that are incapable of it, nor suffer high Trusts to be committed to those who want common Honesty. This did *Nicias*, who by his Connivence raised *Cleon*, a Fellow remarkable for nothing but his loud Voice and brazen Face, to the command of an Army. Indeed I do not commend *Crassus*, who in the War with *Spartacus* was more forward to fight than became a discreet General, though he was put upon it by a point of Honour, lest that *Pompey* by his coming should rob him of the Glory of the Action, as *Mammius* did *Metellus* at the taking of *Corinth*; but *Nicias's* Proceedings are inexcusable; for he did not yield up an Opportunity of getting Honour and Advantage to his Competitor, but thinking that the Expedition would be very hazardous, resolved to take care of one; and left the Common wealth to shift for it self; and when as *Themistocles*, lest that a mean and pitiful Fellow should ruine the State by his Conduct in the *Persian* War, bought him off from his Command, and *Cato* in a most
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perplex'd and critical Conjunction, stood for the Tribuneship, for the sake of his Country, *Nicias* that reserved himself for trifling Expeditions, such as for *Minoas*, *Cythera*, and the miserable *Meleans*, if there be occasion to come to blows with the *Lacedæmonians*, sneaks out of his Generalship, and betrays to the Unskillfulness and Rashness of *Cleon*, the Fleet, the Sea-men, and his whole Country together, with an Army that needed and deserved a most skilful Commander. I say, such a man is not to be thought so much careless of his own Fame, as of the Interest and Preservation of his Country. By this means it came to pass he was in a sort prest for the *Sicilian War*, men generally believing that he was backward in it, not so much for the Difficulty of the Enterprize, as out of his immoderate Love of his Privacy and Ease: But yet this is a great sign of his Integrity, that though he was always averse from War, and unwilling to command, yet they always pitched upon him as the best experienced and ablest General they had: On the other side, *Crassus* could never have attained to it, unless by meer Necessity in the *Servile War*, *Pompey* and *Metellus* and the two *Lucullus's* being absent, although at that time he was at his highest pitch of Interest and Reputation.

THE
L I F E
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EUMENES.

Translated from the Greck,

VOLUME III.

D*Uris* reports that *Eumenes* the *Cardian* was the Son of a poor Wagoner, in the *Thracian Chersonesus*, yet liberally educated, both as a Scholar and a Soldier; and that while he was but young, *Philip* passing through *Cardia* diverted himself with a sight of the Training, and other Exercises of the Youth of that place, among whom *Eumenes* performing with the greatest address and activity; *Philip* was so pleased

EUMENES.





ed with him, as to take him into his Service. But they seem to speak more probably, who tell us, That *Philip* advanc'd *Eumenes* for the Friendship he bore to his Father, whose Guest he had sometime been. After the Death of *Philip*, he continued in the Service of *Alexander*, with the Title of his Principal Secretary, but in as great favour as the most intimate of his Familiars, being esteemed as wise, and faithful as any Person about Court: So that he went General in the Expedition against *India*, and succeeded in the command of *Perdiccas*, when *Perdiccas* advanced to that of *Hephæstion* then newly deceased. Wherefore after the Death of *Alexander*, when *Neoptolemus* who had been Captain of his Life-guard, said, That himself had followed *Alexander* with Shield and Spear, but *Eumenes* only with Pen and Paper, the *Macedonians* laught at him, as knowing very well that besides other particular marks of Favour, the King had done him the Honour to make him a kind of Kinsman to himself by Marriage. For *Alexander's* first Mistress in *Asia*, by whom he had his Son *Hercules*, was *Barsine* the Daughter of *Artabazus*: Now, in the famous distribution of the *Persian* Ladies amongst his Captains, *Alexander* gave her Sister *Apame* to *Ptolemy*, but *Barsine* to *Eumenes*. Notwithstanding he frequently incurred *Alexander's* displeasure, particularly once upon the Score of

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Hephæstion: For the Quarrels that had been taken up for *Eumenes*, *Hephæstion* assigned to *Euijas* a Musician. Whereat *Eumenes* in a rage, and *Mentor* came to *Alexander*, and aloud upbraided him, and told him, That the way to be regarded was to throw away their Arms, and turn Fidlers, or Tragedians, insomuch that *Alexander* took their part and chid *Hephæstion*. But soon after changed his mind, and was angry with *Eumenes*, and accounted the freedom he had taken, to be rather intended as an Affront to the King, than a Reflection upon *Hephæstion*. Afterwards when *Nearchus* with a Fleet was to be sent into the Gulph of *Persia*, *Alexander* borrowed money of his Friends (his own Treasury being exhausted) and would have had 300 Talents of *Eumenes*; but he sent a hundred only, pretending that 'twas not without great difficulty he had raised so much. *Alexander* neither complained, nor took the money; but gave private order to set *Eumenes* his Tent on fire, designing to take him in a manifest Lye, when his money was carried out; but before that could be done, the Tent was consumed, and *Alexander* repented of his Orders, all his Papers being burnt. Now the Gold and Silver which was melted down in the fire, being afterwards digged up, was found to be more than a Thousand Talents, yet *Alexander* took none of it, and only
writ

writ to the several Princes to send new Copies of the Papers that were burnt, and ordered them to be delivered to *Eumenes*.

Another difference happen'd between him and *Hephaestion* concerning a Gift, and a great deal of ill Language passed between them, yet *Eumenes* still continued in favour. But *Hephaestion* dying soon after, the King took it very much to heart, and presuming, all those that differed with *Hephaestion* in his life-time, did now rejoyce at his death, used great strangeness, and severity towards them, especially towards *Eumenes*, whom he often twitted with his Quarrels, and ill-Language to *Hephaestion*. But he being a wise and dextrous Courtier, made advantage of what had done him prejudice, and struck in with the King's humour of honouring his Friends memory, suggesting divers inventions to do him honour, and contributing very largely and readily towards erecting him a stately Monument. After *Alexander's* Death, a dispute hap'ning between his own *Phalanx*, and his more intimate Friends; *Eumenes*, though in his Judgment he inclined to the latter, yet in his Words and Action stood neuter, as if he thought it unbecoming him who was a stranger, to interpose in the private Quarrels of the *Macedonians*. And when the rest of *Alexander's*
Friends

Friends left *Babylon*, he stayed behind, and, in great measure pacified the Foot, and disposed them towards an accommodation. When the Officers had agreed among themselves, and quelled the Mutiny of the Soldiers, they shared the several Commands and Signiories, and made *Eumenes* Governour of *Cappadocia* and *Paphlagonia*, and all the Coast upon the *Pontic* Sea, as far as *Trapezond*, which at that time was not subject to the *Macedonians* (for *Ariarathes* kept it as King) but *Leonnatus* and *Antigonas*, with a great Army, were to put him in possession of it. *Antigonus* (being now grown haughty, and despising all Men) took no notice of *Perdiccas's* Letters; *Leonnatus* with his Army came down into *Phrygia* to the Service of *Eumenes*; but being visited by *Hecataeus*, the Tyrant of the *Cardians*, and requested rather to relieve *Antipater* and the *Macedonians* that were besieged in *Lamia*; he resolved upon that Expedition, inviting *Eumenes* to a share in it, and endeavouring to reconcile him to *Hecataeus*. For there was an hereditary feud between them upon some Politick Account, and *Eumenes* had often declared openly, that *Hecataeus* was a Tyrant, and had exhorted *Alexander* to restore the *Cardians* their Liberty. Wherefore at this time also he declined the Expedition proposed, pretending that he feared

ed least *Antipater*, who already hated him, should, for that reason, and to gratifie *Hecataeus*, kill him. *Leonnatus* so far believed, as to impart to *Eumenes* his whole Design, which, as he pretended, and gave out, was to aid *Antipater*, but, in truth, was to seize the Kingdom of *Macedon*; and he shewed him Letters from *Cleopatra*, wherein she seemed to invite him to *Pella*, with a design to Marry him. But *Eumenes*, whether fearing *Antipater*, or looking upon *Leonnatus* as a fond, rash, unconstant, and therefore lost Man, stole away from him by Night, taking with him all his Men (which were Three hundred Horse, and Two hundred of his own Servants armed,) and all his Gold, which was to the value of Five thousand Talents of Silver, and fled to *Perdiccas*, discovered to him *Leonnatus's* Design, and thereby gained great interest in him, and was made of his Council. Soon after *Perdiccas*, with a great Army, which he led himself, conducted *Eumenes* into *Cappadocia*, and having taken *Ariarathes* Prisoner, and subdued the whole Countrey, declared him Governour of it. Who disposed of the Chief Cities to his own Friends, and made Captains of Garrisons, Judges, Receivers, and other Officers of such as he thought fit himself, *Perdiccas* not at all interposing. Notwithstanding *Eumenes* still waited
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on *Perdiccas*, both out of respect to him, and a desire not to be absent from Court. But *Perdiccas* (believing he was able enough alone to secure his March forwards, but the Countrey he left behind him might stand in need of an active and faithful Governour) when he came into *Cilicia* dismiss'd *Eumenes*, under colour of sending him to his Command, but, in truth, to secure *Armenia*, which was Frontier to it, and unsettled through the Practices of *Neoptolemus*. Him, though a proud and vain Man, *Eumenes* endeavoured to gain by Civility; but to balance the *Macedonian* Foot, whom he found both insolent, and very stout, he contrived to raise an Army of Horse, excusing from Tax and Contribution all those of the Countrey that were able to serve on Horseback, and buying up great store of Horses, which he gave among such of his own Men, as he most confided in. Inflaming the Courage of his Souldiers, by many Gifts and Honours, and inuring their Bodies to service, by often Marching and Exercising; so that the *Macedonians*, some of them, were astonisht, others overjoyed to see, that in so short a time he had got together no leis than 6300 able Horse.

Now

Now when *Craterus* and *Antipater*, having subdued *Greece*, were advanced into *Asia*, with intention to quell the power of *Perdiccas*, and were reported to design an impression upon *Cappadocia*; *Perdiccas* being himself to march against *Ptolomy*, made *Eumenes* Commander in chief of all the Forces of *Armenia* and *Cappadocia*, and to that purpose wrote Letters, requiring *Alcetas* and *Neoptolemus* to be obedient to *Eumenes*, and giving full Commission to *Eumenes*, to dispose and order all things as he thought fit. *Alcetas* flatly refused to serve, because his *Macedonians* (he said) were ashamed to fight against *Antipater*, and loved *Craterus* so well, they were ready to receive him for their Commander. *Neoptolemus* designed Treachery against *Eumenes*, but was discovered; but being summoned, refused to obey, and put himself in a posture of defence. Here *Eumenes* first found the benefit of his own foresight and contrivance; for his Foot being beaten, he routed *Neoptolemus* with his Horse, and took all his Carriage; and pursuing close upon the Phalanx which he had broken, and disordered, obliged the Men to lay down their Arms, and take an Oath to serve under him. *Neoptolemus* with some

few straglers which he rallied, fled to *Craterus* and *Antipater*. From them came an Embassy to *Eumenes*, inviting him over to their side, whereby he should have the advantage of being secured in the Government he was possess of, and being put into further Command by them of obliging his Enemy *Antipater* to become his Friend, and keeping *Craterus* his Friend from turning to be his Enemy. To which *Eumenes* replied, That he could not so suddenly be reconciled to his old Enemy *Antipater*, especially since he saw him use his Friends like Enemies; but was ready to reconcile *Craterus* to *Perdiccas*, upon any just and equitable terms; but if his desires should prove unreasonable, he was resolved to assist the injured to his last breath, and would rather lose his Life than betray his word. *Antipater* receiving this Answer, took time to consider upon the whole matter; when *Neoptolemus* after his defeat arrived, and acquainted them with the ill success of his management, and requested both of them to assist him; but especially *Craterus*, because the *Macedonians* loved him so excessively, that if they saw but his hat, or heard his voice, they would all Arm and follow him. And in truth *Craterus* had
a mighty

a mighty name among them, and the Soldiers after *Alexander's* death were extremely fond of him, remembering how he had often for their sakes incurred *Alexander's* displeasure, restrained him from following the *Persian* Fashions, to which he very much inclined, and keeping up the Customs of his Country, when through Pride and Delicacy they began to be disregarded. *Craterus* therefore sent *Antipater* into *Cilicia*, and himself and *Neoptolemus* Marcht with a great Army against *Eumenes*; expecting to come upon him unawares, and to find his Army disordered with revelling after the late Victory. Now that *Eumenes* should suspect his coming, and be prepared to receive him, is an Argument of his Vigilance, but no great one of his Sagacity: But that he should contrive both to conceal from his Enemies, the ill Posture he was in, and from his own Men, whom they were to fight with, so, as to serve against *Craterus* himself, not knowing he commanded the Enemy, this indeed seems to shew the peculiar Address and Talent of a great General. He gave out therefore that *Neoptolemus*, and *Pigris*, with some *Cappadocian* and *Paphlagonian* Horse, and designing to March by night, he fell into

a deep sleep, and had an extraordinary Dream. For he thought he saw two *Alexanders* ready to engage, each Commanding his several Phalanx, the one assisted by *Minerva*, the other by *Ceres*; and that after a hot dispute, he on whose side *Minerva* was, was beaten, and *Ceres* gathering the Corn, wove it into a Crown for the Victor. This Vision *Eumenes* interpreted as boading Success to himself, who was to fight for a fruitful Corn-Country, the whole being sowed with Corn, and the fields so thick with it, that they made a beautiful shew of a long peace; And he was farther confirmed in his opinion, when he understood that the Enemy bore *Minerva* and *Alexander* in their Colours; wherefore he also bore *Ceres* and *Alexander*, and gave his Men orders to make Garlands for themselves, and to dress their Arms with wreaths of Corn; he found himself under many temptations to discover to his Captains and Officers whom they were to engage with, and not to conceal a secret of such moment in his own breast alone, yet he kept to his first resolutions, and ventured to run the hazard of his own Judgment. (When he came to give Battel,) he would not trust any *Macedonian* to engage *Craterus*, but appointed two

two Troops of Foreign Horse, commanded by *Pharnabazus*, Son to *Artabazus*, and *Phænix* of *Tenedos*, with Order to charge as soon as ever they saw the Enemy, without giving them leisure to speak or retire, or receiving any Heraldor Trumpet from them; for he exceedingly feared the *Macedonians*, lest, knowing *Craterus*, they should go over to his side. He himself with 300 of his best Horse led the right Wing against *Neoptolemus*. When the Enemy having past a little Hill came in view, and *Eumenes* his Men charged with more than ordinary briskness, *Craterus* was amazed, and bitterly reproached *Neoptolemus* for deceiving him, with hopes of the *Macedonians* revolt, but he encouraged his Men to do bravely, & forthwith charged. The first Ingagement was very fierce, and the Spears being soon broke to pieces, they came to close fighting with their Swords; and here *Craterus* did by no means dishonour *Alexander*, but slew several of his Enemies, and repulst divers that assaulted him; but at last received a Wound in his side, from a *Thracian*, and fell off his Horse. Being down, many not knowing him went over him, but *Gorgias* one of *Eumenes* his Captains knew him, & alighting from his Horse guarded his Body, which was now in an ill condition, and

even in the very Agony of Death. In the mean time *Neoptolemus*, and *Eumenes* were engaged, who being inveterate and mortal Enemies, fought for one another, but missed for the two first Courses, but in the third, discovering one another, they drew their Swords, and with loud Shouts they immediately charged, their Horses striking against one another like two Gallies, they quitted their reins, and taking mutual hold they drew off one anothers Helmets, and their Armour from their Shoulders; while they were thus stripping one another, each of their Horses went from under them, and they fell together to the ground, each of them keeping their hold and wrestling. *Neoptolemus* getting up first, *Eumenes* wounded him in the hamm, and withal got upon his feet before him, *Neoptolemus* staying himself upon one knee, the other Leg being grievously wounded, and himself undermost, fought courageously, though his strokes were not mortal, but receiving a blow in the neck he fell down and fainted. *Eumenes* transported with Rage, and inveterate Hatred to him, fell to reviling and stripping of him, and perceived not that his Sword was still in his hand, wherewith he wounded *Eumenes* in the Groin

Groin near the privy parts, but in truth rather frightened than hurt him; his blow being faint for want of strength. Having stript the dead Body, ill as he was of the Wounds he had received in his Legs and Arms, he took Horse again, and made towards the left Wing of his Army, which he supposed to be still engaged. Hearing of the Death of *Craterus*, he rode up to him, and finding there was yet some Life in him, alighted from his Horse and wept, and laying his right hand upon him, inveighed bitterly against *Neoptolemus*, and lamented both *Craterus* his Misfortune, and his own hard fate, that he should be necessitated to engage against an old Friend and Acquaintance, and either do or suffer so much mischief.

This Victory *Eumenes* obtained about ten days after the former, and got a great reputation for atchieving it, partly by his Conduct, and partly by his Valour.

But on the contrary it created him great Envy both among his own, and his Enemies, that he a Stranger, and a Foreigner, should employ the Forces, and Arms of *Macedon*, to cut off one of the bravest and most considerable Men among them. Had the news of this defeat come timely enough to *Perdiccas*, he had doubtless been the

greatest of all the *Macedonians*; but now he being slain in a Mutiny in *Ægypt*, two days before the News arrived, the *Macedonians* in a rage decreed *Eumenes* his Death, giving joint-Commission to *Antigonus* and *Antipater* to prosecute the War against him. Passing by Mount *Ida*, where the King had a breed of Horses, *Eumenes* took as many as he had occasion for, and sent an account of his doing so to the Masters of his Horse. Whereat *Antipater* is said to have laugh't, and profess'd to admire the wariness of the Man, who seem'd to think that an account of the King's Affairs would either be expected from him, or given to him. *Eumenes* had designed to engage in the Plains of *Lydia* near *Sardis*, both because his chief strength lay in Horse, and to let *Cleopatra* see how powerful he was: But at her particular request (for she was afraid to give any umbrage to *Antipater*) he march'd into the upper *Phrygia*, and Wintered in *Celæne*, when *Alcetas*, *Polemon*, and *Docius* disputing with him, who should command in Chief: You know (said he) the old saying, That destruction regards no Punctilio's. Having promis'd his Soldiers pay within three days, he sold them all the Farms and Castles in the Country, together

together with the Men and Beasts where-
with they abounded; every Captain or
Officer that bought, did with *Eumenes's*
consent, employ his Machins to storm the
place, and divided the Spoil among his
Company, proportionably to every man's
Arrears. Hereby *Eumenes* came again to
be beloved, so that when Letters were
found thrown about the Camp by the
Enemy, promising one hundred Talents,
besides great Honours to any one that
should kill *Eumenes*, the *Macedonians* were
extremely offended, and made an Order
that from that time forward one thousand
of their best men should continually guard
his Person, and keep strict Watch about
him by Night in their several turns. This
Order was chearfully obeyed, and they
gladly received of *Eumenes* such Honours
as Princes use to confer upon their Favou-
rites: for he had power to bestow purple
Hats and Cloaks, which among the *Ma-
cedonians* is one of the greatest Honours
the King can give. Now good Fortune
puffs up narrow Souls, to imagine them-
selves high and mighty, and looking
down upon the World; but a truly noble
and resolved Spirit, in distress and mis-
adventure raises it self, and becomes more
conspicuous, and such was *Eumenes*.

For

For having by the Treason of one of his own men, lost the Field to *Antigonus* at *Orcyni* in *Cappadocia*, in his flight he gave the Traitor no opportunity to escape to the Enemy, but immediately seized and hanged him. Then in his flight taking a contrary course to his Pursuers, he stole by them unawares, returned to the place where the Battel had been fought, and there encamped. There he gathered up the dead bodies, and burnt them with the Doors and Windows of the neighbouring Villages, and raised heaps of Earth upon their Graves, insomuch that *Antigonus*, who came thither soon after him, was astonished at his great Courage, and firm Resolution. Lighting afterwards upon *Antigonus* his Carriage, he might easily have taken many Captives, both bond and freemen, and much Wealth collected from the Spoils of so many Wars; but he feared lest his men overladen with so great Booty, might become unfit for so many Marches, and through softness unwilling to hold out so long time as he designed; For upon those two things he laid the main stress of his Action, expecting to tire *Antigonus* into some other course. But then considering it would be extremely difficult to restrain the *Macedonians* from plunder,

plunder, when it seemed to offer it self, he gave them order to provide themselves, and bait their Horses, and then attack the Enemy. In the mean time he sent privately to *Menander*, who had care of all his Baggage, pretending a Concern for him upon the score of old Friendship and Acquaintance; and therefore advising him to quit the Plain, and insconce himself upon the side of a neighbouring Hill, where the Horse might not be able to hem him in. When *Menander*, sensible of his danger, had trussed up his Carriage, and decamped, *Eumenes* openly sent his Scouts to discover the Enemies posture, and commanded his men to arm, and bridle their Horses, as designing immediately to give Battel; but the Scouts returning with News that *Menander* had secured so difficult a Post, it was impossible to take him, *Eumenes* pretending to be aggrieved with the disappointment, drew off his men another way. 'Tis said, that when *Menander* reported this afterwards to *Antigonus*, and the *Macedonians* commended *Eumenes*, imputing it to his singular good nature, that having it in his power to make Slaves of their Children, and ravish their Wives, he forbore, and spared them all, *Antigonus* should thus

thus reply, Alas, good man, he had no regard to us, but to himself, being loth to wear so many Shackles when he designed to fly. From that time *Eumenes* daily flying, and wandring about, perswaded divers of his men to disband, whether out of kindness to them, or unwillingness to lead about such a Body of Men, as were too few to engage, and too many to fly undiscovered. Being come to the Cittadel of *Nora* in the Confines of *Lycaonia* and *Cappadocia*, with fifteen hundred horse, and two hundred Foot well appointed, he again dismiss as many of his friends as desired it, through fear either of the straitness of the place, or want of Provisions, and imbracing them with all demonstrations of kindness, gave them license to depart. *Antigonus* when he came before this Fort, desired to have an interview with *Eumenes* before the siege; but he returned Answer, That *Antigonus* had many Friends who might Command in his room; but they whom *Eumenes* defended, had no body to substitute if he should miscarry; wherefore if *Antigonus* thought it worth while to treat with him, he should first send him Hostages, and when *Antigonus* required that *Eumenes* should first come to him, as being the greater man; he replied,

replied, while I am able to wield a Sword, I shall think no man greater than my self. At last, when according to *Eumenes* his demand, *Antigonus* sent his own Nephew *Ptolomy* to the Fort, *Eumenes* went out to him, and they mutually imbraced with great civility and friendship, as having formerly been very intimate. After long Conversation, *Eumenes* making no mention of his own Pardon and Security; but insisting that he would be confirmed in his several Governments, and withall be honourably rewarded for his Service, all that were present were astonished at his Courage and Gallantry, and many others of the *Macedonians* flocked to see what manner of person *Eumenes* was; for since the death of *Craterus*, no man had been so much talked on in the Army. But *Antigonus* being afraid for him, lest he might suffer some violence, first commanded the Souldiers to keep off, calling out, and throwing stones at them that pressed forwards. At last embracing *Eumenes* in his arms, and keeping off the crowd with his Guards, not without great difficulty; he returned him safe into the Fort. Then *Antigonus* having built a Wall round *Nora*, left a Force sufficient to carry on the siege, and drew off the rest of his Army; *Eume-*

nes was beleaguered, and kept Garrison, having plenty of Corn, and Water, and Salt, but no other thing, either for Food or Delicacy; yet with such as he had, he kept a chearful Table for his Friends, inviting them severally in their turns, and seasoning his Entertainment with a gentle, and affable behaviour; for he had a sweet countenance, and looked not like a rough batter'd Souldier, but was smooth and florid, and his shape as delicate, as if his limbs had been carv'd by Art in the most accurate proportions. In conversation he was not quick, but courteous and obliging. The greatest distress of the besieged, was the straitness of the place they were in, their Quarters being very narrow, and the whole place but two Furlongs in compass; so that both they, and their horses fed without exercise; wherefore not only to prevent the restiness that both might contract by that large living, but to have them in condition to fly, if occasion required, he assigned a Room fourteen Cubits long (the largest in all the Fort) for the men to walk in, directing them to begin their walk gently, and so gradually mend their pace. And for the Horses, he tied them to the Roof with great Halters, which being fastened about their Necks with

with a Pully, he gently raised them, till standing upon the ground with their hinder feet, they just touched it with the very ends of their fore-feet. In this posture the Grooms plied them with Whips and Noise, provoking them to curvet and caper, endeavouring to stand upon their fore-feet; and thus their whole Body was exercised, till they were all in a foam, and groaned again; an excellent sort of exercise this, whether for strength or speed; and then he gave them their Corn boiled, that they might sooner dispatch, and better digest it.

The Siege continuing long, *Antigonus* receiv'd advice that *Antipater* was dead in *Macedon*, and that Affairs were embroyl'd by the differences of *Cassander* and *Polyperchon*, whereupon he conceiv'd no mean hopes, purposing to make himself Master of all, and in order to his design, to bring over *Eumenes*, that he might have his advice and assistance. Wherefore he sent *Hieronimus* to treat with him, proposing a certain Oath, which *Eumenes* first corrected, and then referred himself to the *Macedonians* themselves that besieg'd him, to be judged by them, which of the two Forms were the most equitable. *Antigonus* in the beginning of his had slightly mentioned

mentioned the Kings, but all the sequel referred to himself alone : But *Eumenes* would have the Form of it to *Olympias* and the Kings, and would swear not to be true to *Antigonus* only, but to them, and to have the same Friends and Enemies not with *Antigonus*, but with *Olympias* and the Kings. This Form the *Macedonians* thinking the more reasonable, swore *Eumenes* according to it, and raised the Siege, sending also to *Antigonus*, that he should swear in the same Form to *Eumenes*. Now all the Hostages of the *Capadocians* which *Eumenes* had in *Nora* he returned, and from those they were returned to, took War-horses, Beasts of Carriage, and Tents in exchange, and rallying those men which from the time of his flight were scattered, and wandering about the Country, got together a Body of near a thousand Horse, and with them fled from *Antigonus*, whom he justly feared; for he had not only ordered him to be first blocked up, but had sent a very sharp Answer to the *Macedonians*, for admitting *Eumenes* his Amendments of the Oath. While *Eumenes* was flying he received Letters from them in *Macedonia*, who were jealous of *Antigonus* his greatness, to wit, from *Olympias*, inviting him

him thither, to take the Charge and Government of *Alexander's* little Son, against whom there was divers Plots. Other Letters he had from *Polyperchon* and *Philip*, the King, requiring him to make War upon *Antigonus*, making him General of all the Forces in *Cappadocia*, and impowring him out of the Revenue of *Cydes*, to take fifty Talents to reimburse himself, and levy as much more as he thought necessary to carry on the War: they write also to the same effect to *Antigenes*, and *Teutamus*, the Chief Officers of the *Argyraspides*, who, receiving these Letters, treat *Eumenes* with a shew of respect, and kindness, but it was apparent enough they were full of Envy and Emulation, disdaining to give place to him. Now their Envy, *Eumenes* very fairly declined, by refusing to accept the Money, as if he had not needed it; and their Ambition, and Emulation, who were neither able to govern, nor willing to obey, he conquered by turning it into Superstition. For he pretended that *Alexander* had appeared to him in a Dream, and shewed him a Regal Pavilion richly furnished, with a Throne in it; and told him if they would sit in Council there, he himself, would be present, and prosper all the Consultations, and Atchievements, up-

on which they should enter in his name. *Antigenes* and *Tentamus* were easily prevailed upon to believe this, being unwilling to come and consult *Eumenes*, as much as he disdained to wait at another Man's Threshold. Wherefore they erected a Tent-Royal, and a Throne, and called it *Alexander's*, and there they met to consult upon all Affairs of moment. Afterwards they advanced into the upper Country, and in their March met with *Peucestus* friend to *Eumenes*, and with other of the Lords, who joined Forces with them, and greatly encouraged the *Macedonians* with the number and appearance of their Men. But they themselves having since *Alexander's* Decease, been from under Government, and lived with great delicacy, and so becoming soft and effeminate, and imagining themselves great Princes, which fond conceit of theirs, was daily pampered by the flattery of the *Barbarians*; all these things concurring, made them rude to one another, and unconvertable, and all of them unmeasurably flatter the *Macedonians*, inviting them to Revels, and Sacrifices, till in a short time they brought the Camp to be a dissolute Place of Entertainment, by every Captains endeavouring to make a Party among the Commons, as in all Democracies

Democracies is usual. *Eumenes* perceiving they despised one another, and all of them feared him, and sought an opportunity to kill him, pretended to be in want of Money, and took up many Talents, of those especially, who most hated him, to make them both confide in him, and forbear all Violence to him for fear of losing their own Money. Thus his Enemies Estates, were the guard of his Person, and by receiving Money, he purchased safety, for which other Men use to give it. Now the *Macedonians* while there was no shew of Danger, made all their Court, and came to the Levè of those that treated, and presented them; and they had their Guards, and affected to appear Generals. But when *Antigonus* came upon them with a great Army, and their Affairs themselves seemed to call out for a true General, then not only the common Soldiers cast their Eyes upon *Eumenes*, but these Men who had appeared so great in a peaceful time of ease, submitted all of them to him, and quietly posted themselves severally as he appointed them. And when *Antigonus* attempted to pass the River *Pasitygris*, all the rest that were appointed to guard the Passes, were not so much as aware of his March; only *Eumenes* met and encountered him, slew as many of his

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his Men as filled up the River with their Carcases, and took 4000 of them Prisoners. Chiefly when *Eumenes* was sick the *Macedonians* discovered that in their Judgment, others would treat handsomely, and make fire-balls, but he alone knew how to fight and lead an Army. For *Peucestas* having made a splendid Entertainment in *Persia*, and given each of the Soldiers a Sheep wherewith to Sacrifice, promised himself to Command in chief, some few days after the Army was to march, and *Eumenes* being dangerously sick, was carried in a Litter without the Body of the Army, that his rest might not be disturbed. But when they were a little advanced, unexpectedly they had a view of the Enemy, who had passed the Hills that lay between them, and was marching down into the Plain; seeing therefore the glittering of the Enemies Golden Armour, which glar'd in the Sun, the good Order of their March, the Elephants with their Castles on their backs, and the Men in their Purple, (as their manner was when they were going to give Battel) the Front stopt their March, and called out for *Eumenes*, for they would not advance a step but under his Conduct; and fixing their Arms in the ground, gave the Word among themselves to

to stand, requiring their Officers also not to stir or engage, or hazard themselves without *Eumenes*. News of this being brought to *Eumenes*, he hastned them that carried his Litter, and put forth his right hand. Assoon as the Soldiers saw him; they saluted him in the *Macedonian* Language, and took up their Shields, and striking them with their Pikes, gave a great shout, inviting the Enemy to come on, for now they had a Leader. But *Antigonus* understanding by some Prisoners he had taken, that *Eumenes* was sick and to that degree as to be carried in a Litter, presumed it would be no hard matter to tread in pieces the rest of them, since he was ill. Wherefore he made the greater haste to come up with them and engage. But being come so near, as to discover how the Enemy was drawn up, and appointed, he was astonished, and paused for some time, at last he saw the Litter carrying from one Wing of the Army to the other, (and as his manner was) laughing aloud, he said to his Friends, That Litter there, it seems, is the thing that offers us Battel; but withal he immediately wheeled about with all his Army, and decamped. The other side finding a little respite, returned to their former custom of reveling; and assuring every Man the port of a

General, taking up for their Winter-Quarters near the whole Country of the *Gabeni*, so that the Front was quartered near 100 furlongs from the Rear, which *Antigonus* understanding, marcht immediately towards them, taking the worst way, through a Country that wanted Water (but the way was short though uneven) hoping if he should surprize them thus scattered in their Winter-Quarters, the Soldiers would not easily be able to come up time enough, and join with their Officers. But being to pass through a Country uninhabited, where the Winds were bleak and boisterous, and the Frosts great, he was very much checkt in his March, and his men exceedingly tired. The only relief in this case was making continual fires, whereby his Enemies got notice of his coming. For the *Barbarians* who dwelt on the Mountains, bordering upon the Desert, amazed at the multitude of fires they saw, sent Messengers upon Dromedaries, to acquaint *Penecestus*: He being astonisht and almost struck dead with the News, and finding the rest in no less disorder, resolved to flee, and get up what Men he could by the way. But *Eumenes* delivered him from his great fear and trouble, undertaking to stop the Enemies Career, that he should arrive

arrive three days later than he was expected. Having persuaded them, he immediately dispatched Expresses to all Officers, to draw the Men out of their Winter-Quarters, and Muster them with speed. He himself with some of the chief Officers rode out, and chose an eminent place within view of such as travelled the Desert; this he fortified and quartered out, and commanded many fires to be made in it, as the Custom is in a Camp. This done, and the Enemies seeing the fire upon the Mountains, Anguish and Despair seized *Antigonus*, supposing that his Enemies had been long advertised of his March, and were prepared to receive him. Wherefore lest his Army now tired and wearied out with their March should be forced immediately to encounter with fresh Men, who had Wintered well, and were ready for him, quitting the near way, he marched slowly through the Towns and Villages, to refresh his Men. But meeting with no such Skirmishes as are usual, when two Armies lie near one another, and being assured by the People of the Country, that no Army had been seen, but only continual Fires in that place, he concluded he had been outwitted by a Stratagem of *Eumenes*, and being very much troubled, advanced towards

him, resolving immediately to give Battel. By this time the greatest part of the Forces were come together to *Eumenes*, and admiring his Conduct, declared him sole Commander in chief of the whole Army. Whereat *Antigenes* and *Tentamus*, Captains of the *Argyraspides*, being very much offended, and envying *Eumenes*, formed a Conspiracy against him; and assembling the greater part of the Lords and Officers, consulted when and how to cut him off. When they had unanimously agreed, first to abuse his service, and make him miscarry in the next Battel, and thence take an occasion to destroy him; *Eudamus* the Master of the Elephants, and *Phadimus*, gave *Eumenes* private advice of this design; not out of kindness, or good will to him, but lest they should lose the Money he had lent them. *Eumenes* having commended them retired to his Tent, and telling his Friends he lived among a Herd of wild Beasts, made his Will, mangled and tore all his Letters, lest his Correspondents after his Death, should be questioned or punished for the Intelligence they had given him. Having thus disposed of his Affairs, he thought of letting the Enemy win the Field, or of flying through *Media*, and *Armenia*, and seizing *Cappadocia*,

Cappadocia, but came to no Resolution while his Friends stayed with him. After forecasting divers things in his mind, which his changeable Fortune made unsteady and fickle, he at last put his Men in Array, and encouraged the *Greeks*, and *Barbarians*, as for the *Argyraspides*, they encouraged him, and bid him be of good heart, for the Enemy would never be able to stand them. For indeed they were the oldest of *Philip* and *Alexander's* Soldiers, tried Men, that had long made a Trade of War, that had never been beaten or so much as foiled, most of them 70, none less than 60 years old. Wherefore when they charged *Antigonus* his Men, they cried out, *You fight against your Fathers, you Rascals*; and furiously falling on, routed the whole Troop at once, no Body being able to stand them, and the greatest part dying by their hands, so that *Antigonus* his Foot were routed, but his Horse got the better, and he became Master of the Baggage, through the Cowardise of *Peucestus*, who behaved himself negligently and basely. While *Antigonus*, not daunted with the loss of his Infantry, was vigilant and active, and had the advantage of the ground. For the place where they fought was a large Field, neither deep, nor hard
under

under foot, but like the Sea-shore, covered with a fine soft sand, which the treading of so many Men and Horses, in the time of the Battle, reduced to a small white dust, that like a Cloud of Lime darkened the Air, so that one could not see clearly at any distance, and so made it easie for *Antigonus* to take the Carriage unperceived. After the Battel *Teutamus* sent a Message to *Antigonus* to demand the Baggage. He made Answer, He would not only restore it to the *Argyraspides*, but serve them farther in other things, if they would but deliver up *Eumenes*. Whereupon the *Argyraspides* made a villainous Resolution, to deliver up this great Man alive into the hands of his Enemies. So they came to wait upon him, being unsuspected by him, but watching their opportunity against him, some lamenting the loss of the Baggage, some encouraging as if he had been Victor, some accusing the rest of the Captains, till at last they all fell upon him, and seizing his Sword, bound his hands behind him with his own Girdle. When *Antigonus* had sent *Nicanor* to receive him, he begged he might be led through the Body of the *Macedonians*, and have liberty to speak to them, neither to request, nor deprecate any thing, but only to advise them what would be for their Interest. A
silence

silence being made, as he stood upon a rising Ground, he stretched out his hands bound, and said, What Trophy, O ye basest of all the *Macedonians*, could *Antigonus* have wished for, so great, as you your selves have erected him, in delivering up your General Captive into his hands? How vile is it when you were Conquerors, to own your selves Conquered, for the sake only of your Baggage, as if it were Wealth, not Arms wherein Victory consisted? Nay, you deliver up your General to redeem your Lumber. As for me I am unvanquished, though a Captive, Conqueror of my Enemies, and betrayed by my Fellow-Souldiers. For you, I adjure you by *Jupiter*, the Protector of Arms, and by all the Gods that are the avengers of Perjury, to kill me here with your own hands, for 'tis all one; and when I am murdered yonder, it will be esteemed your Act; nor will *Antigonus* complain; for he desires not *Eumenes* alive, but dead. If ye would with-hold your own hands; release but one of mine, it shall suffice to do the Work; but if you dare not trust me with a Sword, throw me bound as I am, to wild Beasts. This if you do, I shall freely acquit you from the guilt of my death, as the most just and kind of Men to their
General.

General. While *Eumenes* was thus speaking, the rest of the Souldiers wept for grief; but the *Argyraspides* bawled out to lead him on, and gave not attention to his trifling. For it was nothing so grievous the Lamentation of this *Chersonesean* Plague, which in thousands of Battels, had annoyed and wasted the *Macedonians*, as it would be for the choicest of *Philip* and *Alexander's* Souldiers to be defrauded of the Fruits of so long Service, and in their old Age to come to beg their Bread; besides that their Wives had lain now three Nights with their Enemies. So they pushed him on with all speed and violence. But *Antigonus* fearing the Multitude, (for no body was left in the Camp) sent ten of his strongest Elephants with divers of his *Mede* and *Parthyaean* Lances to keep off the Press. Then he could not endure to have *Eumenes* brought into his presence, by reason of their former Intimacy and Friendship; but when they that had taken him, had enquired of *Antigonus* how he would have him kept? As I would (said he) an Elephant or a Lion. A little after, being moved with Compassion, he commanded the heaviest of his Irons to be knock'd off, one of his Menial Servants to be admitted to anoint him, and that any of his Friends that were

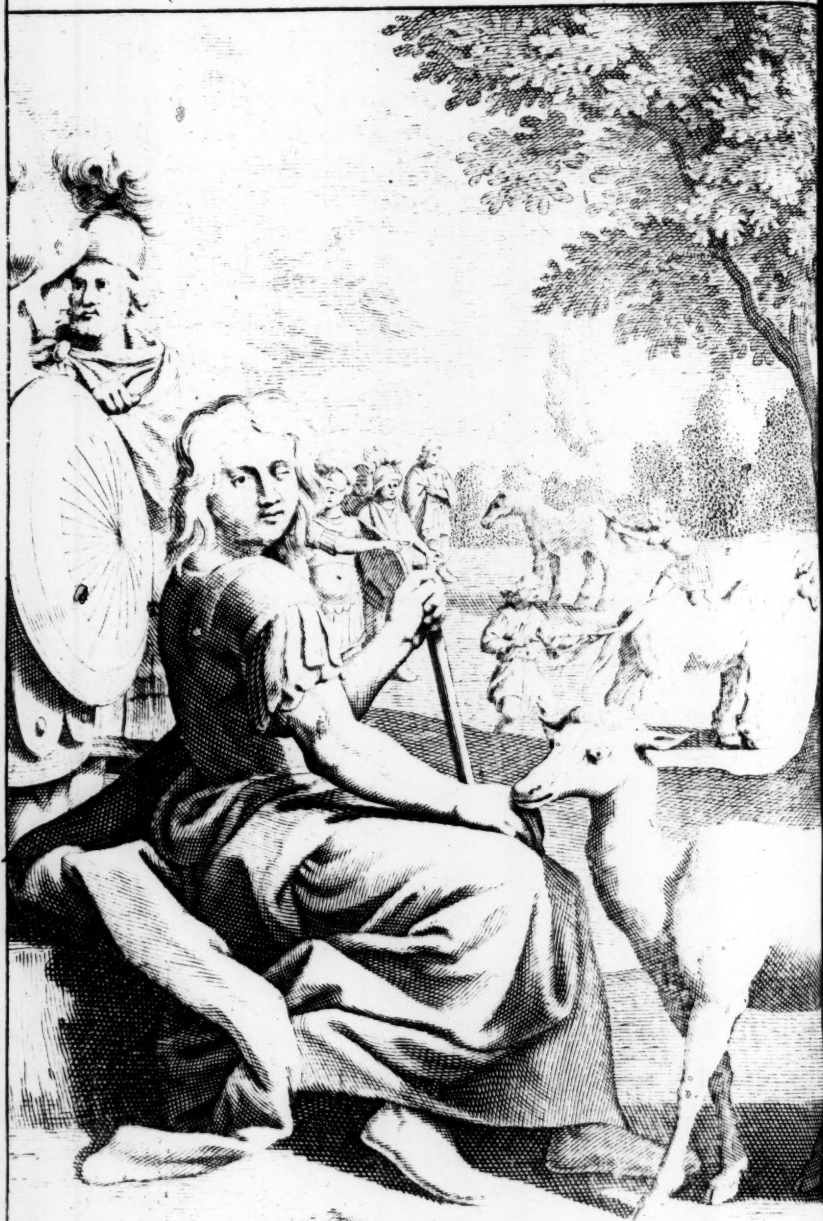
were willing, should have liberty to visit him, and bring him what he wanted. Long time he deliberated what to do with him, sometimes inclining to the advice and Promises of *Nearchus* of *Crete*, and *Demetrius* his Son, who were very earnest to preserve *Eumenes*, whilst all the rest were unanimously instant and importunate to have him taken off. 'Tis reported that *Eumenes* should enquire of *Onomarchus* his Keeper, why *Antigonus*, now he had his Enemy in his hands, would not either forthwith dispatch or generously release him? And that *Onomarchus* contumeliously answered him, That the Field was a more proper place than this to shew his Contempt of Death. To whom *Eumenes* replied, And by *Jupiter* I shewed it there; ask the men else that engaged me; but I could never meet a Man that was too hard for me. Therefore (rejoyned *Onomarchus*,) now you have found such a Man, why don't you submit quietly to his pleasure? When *Antigonus* resolved to kill *Eumenes*, he commanded to keep his Meat from him, and so with two or three days fasting, he began to draw near his end; But the Camp being on a sudden to remove, an Executioner was sent to dispatch him. *Antigonus* granted his Body to his Friends, permitted them to burn it,
and

and having gathered his Ashes into a Silver Urn, to send them to his Wife and Children.

Eumenes being thus taken off, the Divinity appointed no other of the Captains or Commanders to revenge the Disloyalty of them that had betrayed him ; but *Antigonus* himself abominating the *Argyraspides*, as wicked and inhumane Villains, delivered them up to *Ibyrtius* Procurator of *Arachosia*, commanding him by all ways and means to confound and destroy them, so that not a man of them might ever come to *Macedon*, or so much as within sight of the *Greek Sea*.



SERTORIUS.



Abraham Delvaux del. et sculp.

THE
L I F E
O F
QUINTUS SERTORIUS:

Translated from the *Greek*.

By *Edward Browne, M. D.*

VOLUME III.

IT is no great wonder, if in long process of time, the Wheel of Fortune running variously hither and thither through the Universe, shall happen to fall divers times into the same Trace, and the like Occurrences be often produced; and if the number of Subjects to be wrought upon, be infinite, Fortune being supplied with matter sufficiently copious, may
more

more easily produce this remarkable likeness in humane Affairs: Or if otherwise all things be composed and framed out of a finite and limited number of Events; when these have all appeared, the same of necessity must again come to pass; the Series, and whole course of Accidents having already been performed. Now some, being delighted with such casualties as exactly resemble one another, make Historical Collections of those fortuitous Occurrences they have heard, or read of; and observing some Fatality therein, represent them as the works of a rational predeterminating Power and Providence. Thus they observe that of two eminent Persons, both whose Names were *Attis*, both Nobly Born, and of most Illustrious Families, the one of *Syria*, the other of *Arcadia*, both of them were slain by a wild Boar; that of two Noblemen, Both whose Names were *Actæon*, the one was torn in pieces by his Dogs, the other by his Lovers; that of two famous *Scipio's*, the one overthrew the *Carthaginians* in war, the other totally ruin'd and destroy'd them; the City of *Troy* was the first time taken by *Hercules* for the horses promis'd to be given him by *Laomedon*; the second time by *Agamemnon*, by means of the celebrated great wooden Horse; and the third

third time by *Charidemus*, by occasion of a Horse falling down at the Gate, which hindred the *Trojans*, so as they could not shut them soon enough; and of two Cities which take their Names from most delightful odoriferous Plants, *Jos* and *Smyrna*, the one from a Violet, the other from Myrrh, the Poet *Homer* is reported to have been born in the one, and to have died in the other. To these Remarks, if it may be permitted, we may further observe, that the most warlike Commanders, who have perform'd the greatest exploits, and carried on the most notable Stratagems by their Courage and Skill in Martial Affairs, have had but one Eye; as, *Philip*, *Antigonus*, and *Hannibal*, and *Sertorius* also, whose Life and Actions we describe at present, and who far surpassed the other in all noble Vertues; for we may give this true report of him, That he was more Temperate, Sober, and Continent than *Philip*, more Faithful to his Friend than *Antigonus*, and more Merciful and Courteous to his Enemies than *Hannibal*; for Prudence, Wisdom, and Judgment, he gave place to none of them; but in Fortune was inferiour to them all, who though she was every where more severe and cruel to him, than to all his Illustrious Enemies, yet for Skill and Ex-

Great Com-
manders
who had
but one
Eye, Phi-
lip, Anti-
gonus,
Hannibal,
Sertorius,
and o-
thers.

perience in War he made himself equal to *Metellus*; for bold Attempts, Valour, and Bravery, he might compare with *Pompey*; and in Success, he no ways yielded to *Sylla*; and for Power and Force he made himself a Match for the whole *Roman Empire*, and fought gloriously against the united Arms of *Rome*, when he was a Banished Man, and a Stranger amongst Barbarous People.

Sertorius
compared
with Eu-
menes.

Of all the *Grecian* Commanders, *Eumenes* of *Cardia* may be best compared with him; for they were both of them great Generals, both Valiant and Politick Commanders, making use of Deceit, intricate designs, and cunning Stratagems in War; they were both Aliens and Strangers, Banished from their Countries, and had the Command of Foreign Forces; both had Fortune for their Adversary, and so extravagantly injurious to them in the end, that they were both betrayed, and villainously murdered by those who served them, and by whom they had formerly overcome their Enemies.

Sertorius
was of a
Noble Fa-
mily.

Quintus Sertorius was of a noble Family, he was born in the City of *Nursia*, in the Country of the *Sabines*, his Father died when he was young, he was carefully and decently educated by his Mother, whose Name was *Rhea*, and whom he extremely

treably loved and honoured; he exercised himself in Oratory, and pleading in his Youth, which he performed so judiciously, that he acquired no small Reputation and Power in *Rome* by the force of his Eloquence; but the splendor of his glorious Actions in Arms, and his successful Achievements in the Wars, induced him to alter his Ambition, and to seek for Honour wholly in martial Affairs. At his first entering the Field, he served under *Scipio*, when the *Cimbri* and *Teutones* invaded *Gaul*; where, the *Romans* fighting unfortunately, and being put to flight, he was wounded in many parts of his Body, and thrown from his Horse, yet nevertheless he swam cross the River *Rhofne* in his Armour, with his Breast-plate and Shield, bearing himself up against one of the swiftest Rivers in the World, and breaking through its furious Waves by clear strength, so strong a Body he had, inur'd to hardship, and by long exercise brought to endure all Labour.

The second time that the *Cimbri* and *Teutones* came down with some hundreds of thousands, threatening death and destruction to all, when it was no small piece of Service for a *Roman* Souldier to keep his Rank, and obey his Commander, *Sertorius* undertook to view the enemies' camp,

Sertorius was a good Orator.

He swims cross the Rhofne in his Armour.

He is sent as a Spy into the Camp of the Cimbri and Teutones, to discover their Designs.

and to discover their utmost Forces, and Designs, and to this intent having learned the manner of their Salutations, and the ordinary expressions of their Language, he threw himself in amongst the *Barbarians*, dressed in the Habit of a *Celtick Gaul*, where having carefully seen with his own Eyes, or having been fully informed by Persons upon the place, of all their most important Concerns, and Affairs of greatest Moment, he returned to *Marius*, General of the *Roman Army*, from whose hands he received the honourable Rewards of his Valour: And afterwards giving frequent Demonstrations both of his Conduct and Courage in all the following War, he was advanced to Places of Honour and Trust under his General, who highly esteemed and confided in him.

*He is sent
into Spain
under Di-
dius the
Prætor.*

After the Wars with the *Cimbri* and *Teutones*, he was sent into *Spain*, having the Command of a thousand Men, under *Didius* the *Roman General*, and wintered in the Country of the *Celtiberians*, in the City of *Castulo*, where the Souldiers enjoying great plenty of all things, grew insolent, and continually drinking, the Inhabitants despised them, and sent for aid by Night to the *Gyrifænæans* their near Neighbours, who fell upon the *Romans*

in their Lodgings, and slew a great Number of them; but *Sertorius* being alarm'd, withdrew out of the City, with a few of his Souldiers, and rallying together the rest who had slipp'd out, he marched round about the Walls, and finding the Gate open, by which the *Gyrifænians* privately entring, had set upon the *Romans*, he gave not them the same opportunity, but placing a Guard at the Gate, and seizing upon all Quarters of the City, he slew those who were of age to bear arms; and then ordering his Souldiers to lay aside their weapons, and put off their own Cloaths, and put on the accoutrements of the *Barbarians*, he commanded them to follow him to the City, from whence those were sent, who fell upon the *Romans* by Night, and deceiving the *Gyrifænians* with the sight of their own Armour and Equipage, he found the gates of their City open, and took great Numbers of them Prisoners, who came out, thinking to meet their Friends and Fellow-Citizens, coming from performing a worthy piece of Service. Many also were slain by the *Romans* at their own Gates, and the rest within yielded up themselves, and were sold for Slaves.

He recovers the City of Castulo.

He deceives the Gyrifænians, and takes their City.

This action made *Sertorius* to be highly renowned throughout all *Spain*, and as

He is
made Que-
stor of Gal-
lia Cifalpi-
na, now cal-
led Lom-
bardy.

soon as he returned to *Rome*, he was con-
stituted Treasurer General of *Gallia Ci-
salpina* on both sides of the River *Po*, very
advantageously for the *Roman* Affairs at
that time; for the War with the *Marfi*
being unanimously resolved upon, *Serto-
rius* was ordered to raise Souldiers, and
provide Arms, which he performed with
such Diligence, Speed, and Alacrity, con-
trary to the languishing feebleness and
slothfulness of his Companions, that he
got the repute of a man of Life and Spirit
in Business; nor did he any ways desist
from his Milirary Boldness and Bravery,
when he arrived at the Dignity of a great
Commander, but performed Wonders
with his own hands, and never sparing
himself, but exposing his Body freely in
all Conflicts, he lost one of his Eyes, which
was cut out of his head, and yet continued
to have a chearful Look, and always
esteemed it an honour to him: For others
do not continually carry about with them
the marks and testimonies of their Valour,
but often lay aside their Chains of Gold,
their Spears and Crowns; whereas his
Ensigns of Honour, and the Manifestations
of his noble Courage always remained
with him, and those who beheld his
Scars and Misfortunes, admired at the
same time his undaunted Prowess and
Magnanimity;

Magnanimity ; the People also paid him due Respect, and honoured him suitably to his Merit; and when he came into the Theatre, they applauded him, and received him with clapping their hands, beating their feet against the Seats, and with joyful Acclamations, which sort of Applause was not easily obtained, even by Persons who were more venerable in respect of their Age, and of greater Dignity in the Common-Wealth.

*Sertorius
highly ap-
plauded by
the Pea-
ple.*

Notwithstanding this Popularity, when he stood to be Tribune of the People, he was disappointed, and lost the place, being oppos'd by a Party stirred up by *Sylla*, which seems to be the principal cause of their inveterate irreconcilable hatred.

After that *Marius* was overcome by *Sylla*, and fled into *Africa*, and that *Sylla*, had left *Italy* to go to the Wars against *Mithridates*, that of the two Consuls, *Octavius* and *Cinna*, *Octavius* remained stedfast to the Designs of *Sylla*, but *Cinna* (affecting Innovations) attempted to recall the lost Interest of *Marius*, and to set up a Party again that was declined and trodden under foot ; *Sertorius* adhered to *Cinna*, perceiving that *Octavius* was somewhat heavy, could not distinguish of the worth of a Man, and was also suspicious of any one that was a Friend to *Marius*.

A Battel
fought in
the Forum
at Rome.

When the Battel was fought between the two Consuls in the Market-Place, *Octavius* overcame, and *Cinna* and *Sertorius* having lost not less than ten thousand Men, left the City, and persuading the Soldiers who were dispersed about, and gaining those who remained still in many parts of *Italy*, they united their Forces, and in a short time mustered up a Party against *Octavius*, sufficient to give him Battel again, and *Marius* coming by Sea out of *Africa*, proffered himself to serve under *Cinna*, as a private Soldier under his Consul and Commander.

Most were for the speedy Reception of *Marius*, but *Sertorius* openly declared against it, and whether he thought that *Cinna* did not herein consult his own Interest, and that his Greatness would be diminished by the presence of a Person of greater Splendour and Authority, or whether he feared that the violence of *Marius* would bring all things to Confusion, and that by his boundless Wrath and Vengeance after Victory, he would go beyond all the Rules and Limits of Justice, he insisted upon it with *Cinna*, alledging that they were already Victorious, that there remained little to be done, and that if they admitted *Marius*, he would not only deprive them of the
Glory

Glory and Advantage of the War, but would also prove a very uneasie and unfaithful sharer in the Government. To which *Cinna* answered, That he had rightly computed these affairs, but that he himself was at a loss, and ashamed, and knew not how to reject him, whom he sent for to be Partner in all his Concerns: To which *Sertorius* replied, That he thought *Marius* came into *Italy* of his own accord, and therefore he deliberated what might be most expedient, but that it was not fair for *Cinna* to consult whether he should accept of him whom he had already vouchsafed to invite, but should honourably receive and employ him, for his word once past, left no room for debate, and his promise being sacred, ought never to be disputed.

Marius being sent for by *Cinna*, and their Forces being divided into three parts, The Army commanded by under *Cinna*, *Marius*, and *Sertorius*, the Cinna, Marius, and Sertorius. War was carried on successfully; but those about *Cinna* and *Marius* committing all manner of Insolence, Severity, and Rapine, made it evident to the *Romans*, that the Original and chief inducement to these Wars, was Booty and Plunder; but on the contrary it is reported of *Sertorius*, that he never slew Man in his Anger, to satisfy his own private Revenge, nor never insulted
over

Sertorius
punishes
the inso-
lency of
the Slaves

over any one whom he had overcome, but was much offended with the inhumane Rigour of *Marius*, and would often converse privately with *Cinna*, and entreat him to mitigate his Fury, and to use his Power more moderately; in the end, when the Slaves whom *Marius* had freed at his landing, to increase his Army, being made not only his fellow-Soldiers in the War, but also his Guard, and the Executioners of his Tyrannical Cruelty, became strong and numerous; and either by the Command, or Permission of *Marius*, had, contrary to all Law, forcibly oppressed their Masters, slain their Lords, ravished their Ladies, and forced, and abused their Children; their Crimes appeared so intolerable to *Sertorius*, that he slew no less than four thousand of them upon the place; commanding his Soldiers to strike their Darts through the Bodies of them all as they lay encamped together.

Afterwards when *Marius* was dead, and *Cinna* was slain, when the younger *Marius* had usurped the supreme Authority, and made himself Consul against the mind of *Sertorius*, and the known Laws of Rome: When *Carbo*, *Norbanus*, and *Scipio* had fought unsuccessfully, and made but small resistance against the fortunate Arms of *Sylla*, returning victoriously from the Wars

Wars with *Mithridates* and *Fimbria*; when much was lost by the softness and effeminate remissness of the Commanders, but more destroyed by the treachery of their own Party; when their Affairs were so miserably shattered, and born down that they were not able to be supported even by the presence of *Sertorius*, and that he was able to do little by reason that those who had the greatest Command, and Authority, were persons of no great Prudence or Conduct; in the end, when *Sylla* had placed his Camp near to *Scipio*, and by pretending friendship, and putting him in hopes of a good Peace, had corrupted his Army; and *Scipio* could not be made sensible thereof, although often foretold, and forewarned of it by *Sertorius*; he utterly despaired of the prosperity of *Rome*, and made haste into *Spain*; that by taking possession thereof beforehand, he might establish his Power in a Country, which would be a refuge to his Friends, and a support to his declining party. But having bad weather in his journey, and travelling through Mountainous Countries, and the Inhabitants stopping the way, and demanding a Toll, and Money for passage, those who were with him were out of all patience; and highly aggravating in their discourses the indignity

*He leaves
Italy and
hastens
into Spain.*

dignity and shame it would be for a Proconsul of *Rome* to pay Tribute to a Crew of wretched *Barbarians* ; he little regarded their censure; but slighting that which had only the appearance of an undecency, told them he must buy time, the most precious of all things, to those who go upon great Enterprizes ; and pacifying the barbarous People with Money, he hastned his journey, and took possession of *Spain*, a Country flourishing, and populous, abounding with lusty young Men fit to bear Arms ; but by reason of the Insolency and covetousness of the Commanders, sent thither yearly from *Rome*, they had generally an aversion to the *Roman* discipline; and were very ill prepared to receive any sort of Government. But he soon gained the affection of the Nobility, by his Civilities and free Conversation amongst them and got the good Opinion of the People by remitting their Taxes. But that which made him generally beloved, and won the hearts of all, was his exempting them from finding Lodgings for the Soldiers, when he Commanded his Army to take up their Winter Quarters without the Cities, and to pitch their Tents in the fields ; and when he himself first of all, caused his own Pavilion to be raised without the Walls ; yet not being willing to
rely

rely totally upon the good inclination of the Inhabitants, he armed all the *Romans* who lived in those Countries that were of Age, and undertook the building of Ships, and the making of all sorts of Warlike Engins, by which means he kept the Cities in due Obedience, being affable and courteous in time of Peace, and appearing formidable to his Enemies, by reason of his great Preparations for War.

As soon as he was informed that *Sylla* had made himself Master of *Rome*, and that the Party which sided with *Marius* and *Carbo* was utterly destroyed, he expected that some Great Commander with a considerable Army would speedily come against him, and therefore sent away *Julius Salinator* immediately with six thousand Men well Armed, to Guard the Mountains, and to fortifie and defend the narrow passages of the *Pyrenæans*; and *Caius Annius* not long after being sent out by *Sylla*, finding that *Julius Salinator* could not be approached unto, and that his Camp was impregnable by reason of its Situation, nor to be forced by any assault, he sat down short at the foot of the Mountains in great perplexity; but *Calpurnius Lanarius* having treacherously slain *Julius Salinator*, and his Forces astonished at this accident, forsaking

the

Cartagana.

Pityusa,
Ebusus,
now.
Yvica.

the tops of the *Pyrenæans*, *Caius Annius* came forward with a great Army, and passed over the Mountains, and forced those from their Stations who endeavoured to hinder his March; *Sertorius* also not being strong enough to give him Battel, retreated with three thousand men into new *Carthage*, where he took Shipping, and crossed the Seas into *Africa*, and coming near to the coast of *Mauritania*, his men went on shoar to water; and stragling about negligently, the *Africans* fell upon them, and slew a great number. This new misfortune forced him to sail back again into *Spain*, from whence he was also repulsed; but the *Cilician* Pyrats joyning with him, they made for the Island of *Pityusa*, where they landed and overpowed the Garrison placed therein by *Caius Annius*, who also came thither not long after with a great Fleet of Ships, and five thousand Souldiers, and *Sertorius* made ready to fight him by Sea, although his Ships were not built for strength, but for lightness and swift Sayling; but a violent West-wind raised such a storm at Sea, that many of *Sertorius's* Ships were run on ground, and shipwrack'd all along the rocky Shoars, and he himself with a few Vessels, being kept from putting further out to Sea, by the storms and fury of the Weather,

Weather, and hindred from Landing by the power of his enemies, was tossed about for ten days together, and the Seas running high, and the waves being boisterous and violent, he escaped with great difficulty, and after the Wind ceased, ran into certain desolate Islands scattered about in those Seas, affording no Water, from whence making out to Sea again, he passed the Streights of *Gadiz*; between the Pillars of *Hercules*, and sailing outward, keeping the *Spanish* Shoar on his right hand, he landed a little above the mouth of the River * *Bætis*, where it falls * *Bætis* or *Guadil* into the *Atlantick* Sea, and gives the *quiver*. Name to all that part of *Spain*. Here he met with Sea-men, newly arrived from two Islands in the *Atlantick*, which are *Called from them* divided from one another, only by a narrow Channel, and are distant from the *Hispania* *Bætica*. Coast of *Africa* ten thousand Furlongs; These are called the Fortunate Islands, *The fortunate* where the Rain falls seldom, and then in *Islands*. moderate showers, but for the most part they have gentle Breezes, bringing along with them soft dews, which renders the Soil not only fat, and fit to be ploughed, and planted; but so abundantly fruitful, that it produces of its own accord Plants and fruits for plenty and delicacy, sufficient to feed and delight the Inhabitants, who
may

may here enjoy all things without Trouble or Labour. The Seasons of the year are temperate, and the alteration from Quarter to Quarter so moderate, that the Air for the most part is serene and refreshing, and the Weather generally fair and pleasant. The rough Northerly and Eastern Winds, which blow towards these Islands from the Coasts of *Europe* and *Africa*, are divided and dissipated by reason of the vast distance, and utterly lose their force long before they reach these Parts. The soft Western and Southerly Winds which breath upon them, do sometimes produce gentle sprinkling Showers, but for the most part they calmly impregnate the Earth only with the fruitful Dews, and the nourishing Moisture of the Air, which they bring along with them from the Sea; so that it is firmly believed, even by the barbarous People themselves, that this is the seat of the Blessed, and that these are the *Elysian* Fields highly celebrated by *Homer*.

Sertorius
desirous to
live in the
Fortunate
Islands.

As soon as *Sertorius* heard this Account, he was seized with a wonderful affection for these Islands, and had an extreme desire to live there in peace and quietness, far from the noise of Wars, and free from the Troubles of Government; but his inclinations being perceived by the *Cilician* Pirates,

Pirates, who desire neither Peace nor Quiet, but rove after Riches and Spoils, they immediately forsook him, and sailed away into *Africa*, to assist *Ascalis* the Son of *Iptha*, and to help to re-establish him in the Throne of his Father, and to restore him to his Kingdom of *Mauritania*.

The sudden departure of the *Cilicians*, did no ways discourage *Sertorius*, or cause him to desist from further Attempts; for he presently resolved to assist the Enemies of *Ascalis*, and by this new Adventure kept his Soldiers together, who from hence conceived new Hopes of their future Prosperity, and began to have better prospect of their Affairs. His arrival in *Mauritania* being very acceptable to the *Moors*, he lost no time, but immediately giving Battle to *Ascalis*, beat him out of the Field, and besieged him; and *Pacciacus* being sent by *Sylla* with a Powerfull supply to raise the Siege, *Sertorius* slew him in the field, and overthrew all his Forces, with this great advantage, that he not only took the whole *Roman* Army Prisoners, but also forced the City of *Tingis*, where *Ascalis* and his Brothers were fled for refuge. The *Africans* report that *Antæus* was buried in this City, a Gyant of a wonderfull stature, but *Sertorius* being

He takes
the City of
Tingis,
now *Tan-*
gier.

Qq unwilling

He causeth
the Tomb
of Antæus
to be open-
ed.

unwilling to trust common Fame, which gave out that his Body was of a most Prodigious length, he caused his Sepulchre to be opened, and finding that his Corps was effectually full threescore Cubits long, he was infinitely astonished, and immediately offered up Sacrifice to the Gods, and closed up the Tomb again, whereby he confirmed the report of the Inhabitants, increased the Fame of the Sepulchre, and added new honours to the Memory of *Antæus*. The *Africans* further alledge that after the Death of *Antæus* his Wife *Tinga* lived with *Hercules*, and had a Son by him called *Sophax*, who was King of these Countries, and gave his Mothers name to this City, whose Son also was *Diodorus* a great Conqueror, who subdued many other Regions, and brought the greatest part of *Africa* under his Subjection, with an Army of *Greeks*, which he raised out of the Colonies of the *Olbians* and *Myceneans* placed here by *Hercules*. I mention these passages for the sake of King *Juba*, the most excellent Historian of any Prince that ever yet hath honoured History with his own Pen, and who numbers for his Progenitors a long Race of *Mauritanian* Kings. Who derive their Genealogies from *Diodorus* and *Sophax*, and are lineally descended from *Hercules*.

When

When *Sertorius* had made himself absolute Master of the whole Country, he was very just to those who had confided in him, and shew'd not the least unkindness to others, who yielded to his Mercy, but restored to them their Estates, their Cities, their Laws and Priviledges, accepting only of such acknowledgments as they themselves freely offered. And whilst he considered which way next to turn his Arms, the *Lusitanians* sent Ambassadors The Lusitanians send Embassadors to him. to desire him to be their General, for being terrified with the *Roman* Power, and finding the necessity of having a Commander of great Authority and experience in war, being also sufficiently informed of his Worth and Valour, by those who had formerly served him, they were extremely desirous to commit themselves and their Fortunes wholly to his care, and humbly beseeched him to accept of the Command. And to give a true Character of *Sertorius*, he was of a temper not to be surprized with fear, nor easie to be Captivated with pleasure, in Adversity and Dangers undaunted, and no ways puffed up with Prosperity, but of an even Mind, Courteous and Obliging. Upon a sudden Assault or dangerous Attempt, no Commander in his time was more bold and daring, for whatever was to be performed

in War by Deceit, Circumvention, or Surprize; or if any strong place was to be taken in any pass to be gained speedily, any sudden Invasion or Inroad to be made, he was a most notable Contriver, and politick Advancer of all such intricate and difficult Designs, in bestowing Rewards, and conferring Honours upon those who had performed good service in the Wars. He was Bountifull and Magnificent even to Prodigality, but very sparing and backward in punishing Crimes, and Mild and Mercifull to Offenders; yet that piece of Harshness and Cruelty, which he executed in the latter part of his Days, upon the *Spanish* Hostages, seems to argue, that his Clemency was not Natural, but only acted and handsomely dissembled, as his Occasions or Necessity required; and as to my own Opinion, I am perswaded that sincere Vertue established by Reason and Mature Judgment, can never be totally Perverted or Extirpated by any Misfortune whatever. Not that I think it impossible but that great Indignities offered without cause, and frequent Abuses put upon those of the best Nature, and most vertuous Inclinations, may make some impression and alteration in their Temper; and thus I suppose it happened to *Sertorius*, who being exasperated by
the

the repeated Injuries of ungratefull Persons, he was at last severe to those who had unworthily injured him.

The *Lusitanians* having sent for *Sertorius*, he left *Africa*, and being made General with absolute Power and Authority, he ordered all things for the best Advantage, and brought the Neighbouring Parts of *Spain* under his Subjection; many Countries also voluntarily submitted themselves won by the Fame of his Clemency, and of his Martial Performances. Upon some Occasions also he would not fail to invent strange Artifices to please the People, and to make use of alluring Devices, and even of deluding Impostures, amongst which certainly that of the Hind Sertorius's Hind. was none of the least. *Spanus* a Country-man, who lived in those Parts, meeting by chance a Hind that had newly Calved, flying from the Hunters, he let the Dam go, and pursuing the Hind-calf, took it, being wonderfully pleased with the Rarity of it, and the strangeness of the Colour, which was all milk-white, and at the same time *Sertorius* keeping his Court in those Parts and receiving courteously such Presents of Fruit, Fowl or Venison as the Country afforded, and rewarding liberally those who presented them, the Country-man brought him his young Hind, which

he kindly accepted, and was much taken with it at the first sight, but when in time he had made it so tame and gentle, that it would come when he called, and follow him wheresoever he went, and could endure the Noise and Tumult of the Camp; knowing well that Barbarous People are naturally prone to Superstition, by Degrees he gave out that it was inspired with a Deity, that it was given him by the Goddess *Diana*, that it discovered to him hidden Mysteries, and revealed to him what was to come to pass hereafter: To which also he added these further Contrivances; if he had received at any time private Intelligence, that the Enemies had made an Incurfion into those Provinces which were under his Command, or had solicited any City to revolt, he pretended that the Hind had informed him of it in his sleep, and charged him to keep his Forces in readiness; or if otherwise he had notice that any of the Commanders under him had got a Victory, he would hide the Messengers, and bring forth the Hind crowned with flowers, for joy of the good News that was to come, and would encourage them to Rejoyce and Sacrifice to the Gods for the good account they should soon receive of their Prosperous Success, and by those Inventions filling their
Heads

Heads with strange Imaginations, and the thoughts of Miracles, he brought them to be more Tractable and Obedient in all things; for now they thought themselves no longer to be led by a Stranger, but rather conducted by a *Hero*, or one nearly related to a God. Considering also that his Power dayly encreased contrary to all Humane Reason or Probability. For with two thousand five hundred, which for Honour's sake he called *Romans*, joyned with seven hundred *Africans*, who landed with him when he first entred *Lusitania*, together with four thousand foot, and seven hundred Horse, he made War with four *Roman* Generals, who commanded a hundred and twenty thousand Foot, six thousand Horse, two thousand Archers, and Slingers, and Cities innumerable, whereas at the first he had not above twenty Cities in all, and from this weak and slender beginning, he became afterwards so considerable that he took many good Cities and overcame Great and Powerfull Countries. Of the *Roman* Commanders which were sent against him, he overthrew *Cotta* in a Sea-fight, in the Channel near the

Mellaria now Tariffa, between Trafalgar and Gibraltar, in the Streights mouth. Cape Spartel, and Trafalgar, Abyla, and Gribalter, are places well known to Seamen that Sail into the Mediterranean Sea.

City of *Mellaria*, he routed *Phidius* chief Commander of *Hispania Bætica*, and slew two thousand *Romans* near the Banks of the River *Bætis*. *Domitius* and *Lucius Manlius* Proconsul of another Province of *Spain*, were overthrown in a set Battle by one of his Lieutenants, he slew *Toranius* a Commander sent against him by *Metellus* with a great Force, and destroyed his whole Army; and *Metellus* the greatest General in those Times, and a Person of the most approved Experience of any *Roman* then living, was often supplanted and circumvented by him, and reduced to such extremities that he was forced to call *Lucius Lollius* to his assistance out of *Gallia Narbonensis*, and *Rome* it self being alarmed and terrified, parted with her beloved *Pompey* the Great, and sent him into *Spain* in all haste with the most considerable Forces of the *Roman* Empire. Nor did *Metellus* know which way to turn himself, having to do with a man of undaunted Boldness and Sagacity, who was continually molesting him, and yet could not be brought to a set battle, but by the swiftness and dexterity of his *Spanish* Soldiery he was able to change his Station, and to cast his Army into all Forms and Figures, to lead them on, and bring them off again, and wind himself out of all Streights

Pompey
sent a-
gainst Ser-
torius.

Streights and Difficulties; and although *Metellus* had great Experience in conducting entire well appointed Legions, and was an excellent Commander of Soldiers armed with heavy Armour, and drawn up in due order into a standing Phalanx able to encounter the Enemy hand to hand, and overpower them by clear Force, yet he was no way able to climb up steep Hills, and be continually upon the pursuit of a swift Enemy, or attend the speedy Marches of Men that were accustomed to range about the Mountains, to endure Hunger and Thirst, and to live expos'd to the Wind and Weather without Fire or Covering; Besides that, *Metellus* being now in years, and having been formerly engaged in many Fights and dangerous Conflicts, he was now inclinable to lead a more remiss, easie, and voluptuous Life, and was the less able to contend with *Sertorius* who was in the Flower and Strength of his Youth, full of Spirit and Life, and had a Body wonderfully fitted for War, being strong, active, and temperate, continually accustomed to endure hard Labour, to take long, tedious Journeys, to pass many Nights together without Sleep, to eat little, and to be satisfied with very coarse Fare, and was never stained with the least Excess in Wine, even when he was most at leisure, but what
time

time he had to spare, he spent in hunting, and riding into all Parts; whereby he understood the Course of the Country, the Situation of all places, and where there were passages, and where not; with this advantage to himself, that when he could not maintain the Fight, he knew which way to fly and escape, and where certainly to ensnare and encompass his Enemy, when Victory accompanied his Arms; insomuch that those with *Metellus* suffered all inconveniences like Men that were conquered, although he earnestly desired to fight, and *Sertorius* (though he refused the Field) reap'd all the advantages of a Conqueror; for he hindered them from Foraging, and cut off all Provision; if they proceeded forward he stopped their March, if they stayed in any place and encamped, he continually molested and alarmed them; if they besieged any Town he presently appeared and besieged them again, and reduced them to great Extremities for want of necessaries, whereby he wearied out the *Roman* Army, and reduced them to so low and despairing a condition, that when *Sertorius* challenged *Metellus* to fight singly with him, they commended him, and cried out it was a Fair Offer for a *Roman* to fight against a *Roman*, and a General against a General, and when *Metellus* refused

Sertorius
challenges
Metellus.

fused the Challenge, they reproached him, but *Metellus* derided and contemned them, in doing which he did well; for as *Theophrastus* observes, a General should die like a General, and not like a Gladiator.

Metellus perceiving that the City of the *Lagobrites*, which gave great assistance to *Sertorius*, might easily be taken for want of water, (there being but one Well within the Walls) and that whosoever besieged the Place, would make himself Master of the Springs and Fountains in the Suburbs, he hoped to force the Town in two days time, there being no more water, and gave command to his Soldiers to take five days Provisions only; but *Sertorius* resolving to send speedy relief, ordered two thousand Vessels to be filled with water, and a good Reward for the carriage of every Vessel, and many *Spaniards* and *Moors* undertaking the work, he chose out those who were the strongest and swiftest of Foot, and sent them through the Mountains, with order, that when they had delivered the water, they should remove and convey away privately all those who would be least serviceable in the Siege, that there might be water sufficient for the Defendants. As soon as *Metellus* understood this, he was highly disturbed, and when he had spent most part of the necessary Provisions for his

*Sertorius
relieves
the City of
the Lago-
brites.*

his Army, he sent out *Aquinus* with six thousand Soldiers to fetch in fresh Supplies: but *Sertorius* having notice of it, laid an Ambush for him, and having sent out beforehand three thousand men, which he placed within a shady Vally, in a Channel which had been made hollow by the rapid fall of Water from the Hills; they set upon the Rear of *Aquinus* in his Return, while *Sertorius* charging him in the Front, destroyed part of his Army, and took the rest Prisoners, *Aquinus* only escaping, after he had been thrown from his Horse, and lost his Armour, and *Metellus* being forced shamefully to raise the Siege, became the Laughter and Contempt of the *Spaniards*, and *Sertorius* the Object of their Esteem, Love and Admiration. He was also highly honoured for his instituting a right Discipline, and good Order amongst them; for he altered their furious savage manner of Fighting, and brought them to make use of the *Roman* Armour, taught them to keep their Ranks, and follow their Ensigns, and out of a confus'd Number of Thieves and Robbers, he constituted a regular well disciplin'd Army: he afterwards bestowed Silver and Gold upon them liberally to gild and adorn their Helmets, he caused their Shields to be wrought, and engraved with various Figures and Designs,
he

he brought them into the Mode of wearing flowered and richly embroidered Cloaths, and by courting them, by paying their Expences, by conversing familiarly with them, he won the Hearts of all, and led them whither he pleased, but that which delighted them most, was the Care that he took of their Children, when he sent for all the Noblemen's Sons in those Parts, and placed them in the great City of *Osca*, where he appointed Masters to instruct them in the *Grecian* and *Roman* Learning, that when they came to be men they might be fitted to share with him in Authority, and in the Government of the Commonwealth, although under this pretence of their better Education, he really made them Hostages and Sureties for their Country; however their Fathers were wonderfully pleased to see their Children going daily to the Schools in good order, handsomely dressed in fine long Garments edged with Purple, and that *Sertorius* paid a Sallary for their Learning; examin'd them often, distributed Rewards to the most deserving, and gave them Jewels to hang about their Necks, and Golden Bosses which the *Romans* called *Bullæ*.

There being a Custom in *Spain*, that when a great Commander was slain in Battle, those who attended his Person fought it

Osca *Huesca*.

Sertorius
infinitely
beloved by
the Spaniards.

it out till they all died with him, which the Inhabitants of those Countries called an Offering, or a pouring out of Blood in Sacrifice. There were few Commanders that had any considerable Guard or Number of Attendants; but *Sertorius* had many thousands who offered up themselves, and vowed to sacrifice their Lives, and spend their Bloods with his, and it is reported that when his Army was defeated near to a City in *Spain*, and the Enemy pressed hard upon them, the *Spaniards* took no care for themselves, but being totally solicitous to save *Sertorius*, they took him up on their Shoulders and passed him from one to another, till they carried him into the City, and when they had thus placed their General in safety, every one provided afterwards for his own security.

The Roman Soldiers with *Perpenna* desire to be under his Command.

Nor were the *Spaniards* alone ambitious to serve him, but the *Roman* Soldiers also that came out of *Italy* were impatient to be under his Command, and when *Perpenna*, who was of the same Faction with *Sertorius*, came into *Spain* with great Riches, and a good Army, and designed to make War against *Metellus* in a distinct Body by himself, his own Soldiers opposed it, and discoursed continually of the great Fame and Merit of *Sertorius*; which was no small Mortification to *Perpenna*, who was

was puffed up with the Grandeur of his Family and his Riches. When they afterwards understood also that *Pompey* the Great had passed the *Pyrenæans*, they took up their Arms, laid hold on their Ensigns, called upon *Perpenna* to lead them to *Sertorius*, and threatned him that if he refused it, they would go and place themselves under a Commander who was sufficiently able to defend himself and those that serv'd him, which forced *Perpenna* to yield to Perpenna joins his forces with Sertorius. their desires, who immediately joining with *Sertorius*, added to his Army three and fifty Cohorts; and when all the Cities on this side of the River *Iberus* also united their Forces together under his Command, his Army grew great, for they flocked together, and flowed in upon him from all Quarters; but when they continually cried out to charge the Enemy, and were impatient of Delay, their unexperienced Rashness was troublesome to *Sertorius*, who at first strove to restrain them with Reason and good Counsel, but when he perceived them refractory and unseasonably violent, he gave way to their impetuous Desires, and permitted them to engage with the Enemy, in such sort, that being repulsed yet not totally routed, he hoped they would become more obedient to his Commands for the future; which happening as he

he conjectured, he soon rescued them, and brought them safe into his Camp; and after a few days being willing to encourage them again, when he had called all his Army together, he caused two Horses to be brought into the Field, one an old, feeble, lean Jade, the other a lusty strong Horse, with a very fair, thick, long Tail; near to the lean Jade he placed a tall strong man, and near to the strong young Horse a weak, little, despicable Fellow to look upon, and at a Sign given, the strong Man took hold of the weak Horses Tail with both his hands, and drew it to him with his whole force, as if he would presently pull it off; the other little weak Fellow in the mean time fell to plucking off hair by hair from the great Horses Tail; and when the strong man had given trouble enough to himself in vain, and sufficient divertisement to the Company, and had given over his intent, whilst the weak pitiful Wretch in a short time and with little pains had left never a hair on the great Horses Tail. *Sertorius* rose up, and spake to his Army after this manner. You see Fellow-Soldiers, that Ingenuity is greater than Force, and Perseverance more prevailing than Violence. Many things which cannot be overcome when they are together, do yield themselves up by degrees when they are separated,

ted, Assiduity and continued Diligence is resistless, and in time overthrows and destroys the greatest Powers whatever; Time being the favourable Friend and Assistant of those, who through mature Judgment understand aright how to take their best Advantages; and the destructive Enemy of those who are unseasonably urging and pressing forward; with such like Inventions and Discourses, wherewith he frequently entertained them, he bridled the rash fierceness of the Barbarous People, and taught them to attend and to watch for their best Opportunities of Fighting.

But of all his Remarkable Exploits, and His wonderful Stratagems in War, none raised *Stratagem a-* greater Admiration in all, than that which *gainst the* he put in practice against the *Characita-* *nians.* *nians*; these are a People beyond the River *Tagus*, who inhabited neither Cities nor Towns, but liv'd in a vast high Hill, within the deep Dens and Caves of the Rocks, the Mouths of which open all towards the North, the Country below it is a clayish, chalky Soyl, and being also light, full of Pores, and spongy, it is apt to be crummed and broken into Powder, and is not firm enough to bear any one that treads upon it, and if you touch it in the least it flies about like Ashes, or unslaked

R r

Lime.

Lime. In any danger of War, these People descend into their Caves, and carrying in their Booty and Prey along with them, are free from all fear, and think themselves invincible. And when *Sertorius* being at some distance from *Metellus*, had placed his Camp near this Hill, they slighted and despised him, imagining that he retired into these Parts being overthrown by the *Romans*; and whether out of Anger, and just Resentment, or out of his unwillingness to be thought to fly from his Enemies, he caused himself to be carried thither early in the Morning to view the situation of the Place; but finding there was no way to come at it, as he rode about threatening them in vain, and troubled in his Mind, he took notice that the Wind raised the dust and carried it up, towards the Caves of the *Characitanians*, the Mouths of which, as we said before, opened towards the North; and the Northerly Winds, which some call *Cæcias*, prevailing most in those Parts, engendred out of the moist Morish Plains, or the Mountains covered with Snow, and in the Heat of Summer being supplied and encreased by the Relaxation and Melting of the Ice on the Peaks of the Northern Hills, it blows a delightful fresh Gale, which recreates the *Characitanians*, and refreshes

*Cæcias is
the North-
East-
Wind or
the North-
East and
by East.*

refreshes their Cattle all the Day long. *Sertorius* considering well all Circumstances, wherein either the Information of the Inhabitants, or his own Experience had instructed him, commanded his Soldiers to shovel up a great Quantity of this light dusty Earth, to heap it up together, and make a Mount of it, over against the the Hill wherein these Barbarous People resided, who imagining that all this Preparation was for the Raising of a Fort, or for the making of a Bulwark against them, they looked upon it as a Design most worthy to be laughed at; however he continued the Work till the Evening, and brought his Soldiers back into their Camp. The next Morning when a gentle Breeze arose, and moved the lightest Parts of the Earth, and dispersed it about as the Chaff before the Wind, and when the Sun coming to be higher, the blustering Northerly Wind had covered the Hills with the dust, the Soldiers turned this new Mount of Earth over and over, and brake the Clots of Clay in Pieces, whilst others on Horseback rode through it backward and forward, and raised a Cloud of dust, which being committed to the Wind, was blown into the Dwellings of the *Characitanians*, the entrances into which were all towards the

North, and there being no other Vent or Passage, than that through which blustering *Cæcias* rushed in upon them, together with all the powdered Earth and Dust, tossed and blown about, it quickly blinded their Eyes, and filled their Lungs, and causing a Difficulty of Breathing, choak'd them up, whilst they strove to draw in the rough harsh Air mingled with streams of Dust, nor were they able with great hardship to hold out above two Days, but yielded up themselves on the third. This Success added not so much to the Strength and Power of *Sertorius*, as it encreased his Glory and Renown, in letting the World see that he was able to conquer those Places by Art, and by the Strength of his Brain, which were impregnable and never to be taken by the Force of Arms. He was continually Successful during the whole War against *Metellus*, who by Reason of his Age and his slow Temper was not able to resist the active Boldness and Bravery of *Sertorius*, who commanded a light army more like a Band of Robbers than a due established Militia. When *Pompey* also had passed over the *Pyreneans*, and placed his Camp near him, where both of them gave their utmost Proofs of their Gallantry and Skill in War, both in Receiving and Attacking
one

one another, *Sertorius* far surpassing him, either in defending himself, or countermining the Designs of his Enemies, his fame was then highly celebrated even in *Rome* it self, for the most terrible Warriour, and the most expert Commander of his Time. For considering that the Renown of *Pompey* was not small, who had already won much Honour by his Prowess and Magnanimity in the Wars of *Sylla*, from whom he received the Title of *Magnus*, and was called *Pompey* the Great; and who had ascended to the Honour of a Triumph before the Hairs were grown on his Face, and many Cities which were under *Sertorius* had an earnest Desire to Revolt, when they were deterred from it by that great Action amongst others which he performed near the City of *Lauro*, contrary to the Expectation of all.

As soon as *Sertorius* had laid siege to *Lauro*, *Pompey* came with his whole Army to relieve it, and there being a Hill near this City very advantageously seated, they both made haste to take it. But *Sertorius* prevented him, and took possession of it first, and *Pompey* having drawn down his Forces, was not sorry that it had thus succeeded, for he imagined that he had hereby enclosed his

Enemy between his own Army and the City, and sent in a Messenger to the Citizens of *Lauro*, to bid them be of good Courage and to come upon their Walls, where they might see their Besieger Besieged. *Sertorius* perceiving their Intentions, smiled, and told them, he would now teach *Sylla's* Scholar (for so he called *Pompey* in derision) that it was the Part of a General to look as well behind him as before him, and at the same time shewed them six thousand Soldiers which he had left in his former Camp, from whence he marched out to take the Hill, where if *Pompey* should assault him, they might fall upon his Rear, *Pompey* discovered this too late, and not daring to give Battle, for fear of being encompassed in on every side, and yet being ashamed to leave his Friends and Confederates in extream Danger, was forced to sit still and see them ruined before his Face; for the Besieged despaired of Relief, and delivered up themselves to *Sertorius*, who spared their Lives and granted them their Liberties, but burnt their City, not out of Anger or Cruelty, for of all Commanders that ever were, *Sertorius* seems least of all to have indulged these Passions, but only for the greater Shame and Confusion of the Admirers of *Pompey*, and that it might be reported amongst the *Spaniards*,

*Sertorius
burns the
City of
Lauro
in the sight
of Pompey
the Great
who is not
able to re-
lieve it.*

Spaniards, that the Fire which burnt down his Confederates, tho' he was so near as to be well warm'd at it, was not able to raise heat enough in him to dare to relieve them.

Sertorius sustained some Losses in these Wars, but he always defended those with him, and maintain'd himself Invincible, and it was by other Commanders under him that he suffer'd, and he was more admir'd for being able to repair his Losses, for shewing himself brave in danger, for recovering the Victory, when the Field seem'd already to be lost, than the *Roman* Generals against him for gaining these Advantages: As at the Battle of *Sucro* against *Pompey*, and at the Battle near *Turia*, against him and *Metellus* together. It is reported that the Battle near the City of *Sucro* was fought through the Impatience of *Pompey*, lest that *Metellus* should share with him in the Victory, and thro' the willingness of *Sertorius* to fight with him before the Arrival of *Metellus*: However *Sertorius* delay'd the time till the Evening, considering that the darkness of the Night would be a great disadvantage to his Enemies, either Flying, or Pursuing, who were meer Strangers, and had no knowledge of the Country. When the fight began it happened that *Sertorius* was not placed directly against *Pompey*, but against *Afranius*, who had Command of

Pompey
in great
danger,
wounded,
and
thrown
from his
Horse.

Sertorius
overthrows
Afranius.

the Left Wing of the *Roman* Army, as he commanded the Right Wing of his own; but when he understood that his Left Wing began to give way, and yield to the furious Assaults of *Pompey*, he committed the care of his Right Wing to other Commanders, and made haste to relieve those in distress, and rallying some that were flying, and encouraging others that still kept their Ranks, he renewed the Fight, and set upon them with that Force that he routed the Enemy, and brought *Pompey* who was pursuing into great danger of his Life; for after being wounded and thrown from his Horse; he escaped unexpectedly, for the *Africans* with *Sertorius* who took *Pompey's* Horse, set out with Gold, and covered with rich Trappings, fell out with one another, and upon the dividing of the Spoil, gave over the Pursuit. *Afranius* in the mean time, as soon as *Sertorius* had left his Right Wing to assist the other part of his Army, overthrew all that opposed him, and pursued them to their Camp, fell in with them, and plunder'd them till it was dark Night; knowing nothing of *Pompey's* Overthrow, nor being able to restrain his Soldiers from Pillaging. When *Sertorius* returning with Victory fell upon the Forces of *Afranius*, which were in Disorder, and slew great Numbers

Numbers of them ; and the next Morning came into the Field again, well arm'd, and offered Battle, but perceiving that *Metellus* was near, he drew off, and returned to his Camp, saying, If this old Woman had not been here, I would have whipped that Boy soundly, and sent him to *Rome*.

Sertorius being much concerned that his white Hind could no where be found ; whereby he was destitute of an admirable Contrivance, both to amuse, and encourage the Barbarous People, at a time when he most stood in need of it ; some of his Men wandering in the Night chanced to meet her, and knowing her by her colour, took her ; to whom *Sertorius* promised a good Reward, if they would tell no one of it ; and presently shut her up ; a few days after, he appeared in Publick with a very chearfull Look, and declared to the Chief Nobility of the Countrey that the Gods had foretold him in a Dream that some great good Fortune should suddenly attend him ; and being set on the Tribunal to Answer the Petitions of those who applied themselves to him : The Keepers of the Hind let her loose, and she no sooner espied *Sertorius*, but she ran leaping with great joy to his Feet, laid her Head upon his Lap, and licked his Hands as she formerly used to do, and *Sertorius* stroaking her, and making

making much of her again, with that tenderness that the Tears stood in his Eyes, all that were present were immediately filled with Wonder and Astonishment, and afterwards accompanying him to his House with respectfull Congratulations, and loud Shouts for Joy, they looked upon him as a Person above the Rank of Mortal Men, as one that was influenced from above; and that was highly beloved by the Gods, and being hereby mightily encouraged they conceived far better hopes for the future.

*He fights
with the
Romans
in the Ter-
ritories of
the Sagun-
tines.*

*Memmius
slain.*

*Metellus
wounded.*

When he had reduced his Enemies to the last extremity for want of Provision, he was forced to give them Battle (in the Plains near *Saguntum*) to hinder them from foraging, and plundering the Countrey, where both Parties fought gloriously, and *Memmius* the greatest Commander in *Pompey's* Army was slain in the heat of the Battle; but *Sertorius* overthrew all before him, and with great slaughter of his Enemies pressed forward towards *Metellus*. This old Commander making a stout resistance beyond what could be expected from one of his years, was wounded with a Lance, which struck amazement into all that saw it, or heard of it, and filled the *Roman* Soldiers hearts with Sorrow and with Shame, to be thought to have left their General in distress; but at the same time

time it provoking them to Revenge and Fury against their Enemies, they soon covered *Metellus* with their Shields, and brought him off in safety, and then valiantly repulsed the *Spaniards*, whereby Victory changed sides, and *Sertorius* that he might afford a more secure Retreat to his Army, and that more Forces might more easily be raised, retired into a strong City in the Mountains; and though it was the least of his Intention to sustain a long Siege yet he began to repair the Walls, and to fortifie the Gates, whereby he deluded his Enemies, who came and set down before the Town, hoping to take it without much resistance; and gave over the pursuit of the *Spaniards*, affording them opportunity to gather together again, and to raise new Forces for *Sertorius*, to which purpose he had sent Commanders to all their Cities, with Orders, when they had sufficiently increased their Numbers, to send him word of it, which News he no sooner received, but he sallied out and forced his way through his Enemies, and easily joyned with the rest of his Army, and having received this considerable reinforcement, he set upon the *Romans* again, and by fiercely assaulting them, by alarming them on all sides; by ensnaring, circumventing, and laying Ambushes for them; he

He cuts off
all Provisi-
on from
the Ro-
man Army
both by Sea
and Land.

he cut off all Provisions by Land, while with his Ships of War, and Pyratical Vessels, he kept all the Coast in awe, and hindered their Recrutes by Sea; whereby he forced the *Roman* Generals to dislodge, and to separate from one another: *Metellus* departed into *Gallia*, and *Pompey* wintered among the *Baccæans*, in a wretched condition, where being in extreme want of Money, he wrote a lamentable Letter to the Senate, to let them know that if they did not speedily supply him, he must draw off his Army; for he had already spent his own Estate in the Defence of *Italy*. To these Extremities the Chiefest and the most Powerfull Commanders of the Age, were reduced by the Skill and Valour of *Sertorius*; and it was the common Opinion in *Rome*, that he would be sooner in *Italy* than *Pompey*, and how far *Metellus* was terrified with his Greatness; and at what rate he esteemed him, he plainly declared, when he offered by Proclamation an hundred Talents, and twenty thousand Acres of Land to any *Roman* that should kill him; and leave if he were banished, to return; attempting villanously to betray and sell him, when he despaired of ever being able to overcome him in open War, with all the powerfull Forces of the *Roman* Empire. And when afterwards he gained some advantage
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in a Fight, against *Sertorius*, he was so wonderfully pleased and transported with his good Fortune, that he caused himself to be publicly proclaimed Imperator, or Sovereign Commander; and ordered that all the Cities which he visited should receive him with Altars dedicated, and Sacrifices offered to him: where indulging himself in splendid Entertainments, and costly Suppers, he would sit drinking in his Triumphal Robes, with Garlands and Crowns upon his Head, while the Images and Figures of Victory, were introduced by the motion of Machins, bringing in with them Crowns and Trophies of Gold, to present to him, and Companies of young Men and Women danced before him, courted him, and sang to him Songs of Joy, and Triumph; whereby he rendered himself deservedly ridiculous, for being excessively delighted and puffed up with the thoughts of following one that retired of his own accord, and for having once the better of him, whom he used to call *Sylla's* Fugitive, and his Forces the Remainder of the scattered Troops of *Carbo*.

The Generosity of *Sertorius* signally appeared when he appointed a Senate, and called together all the *Roman* Senators which fled from *Rome*, and came and resided with him; and out of these he chose *Prætors*,

He constituted a Senate out of the Roman Senators which fled to him from Rome.

Prætors, and *Quæstors*, and adorned his Government with all the *Roman* Laws and Constitutions; and though he made use of the Arms, Riches, and Cities of the *Spaniards*, yet he would never permit them so much as to mention any thing of Government, but set *Roman* Officers and Commanders over them, whereby he restored Liberty to the *Romans*, without increasing the *Spaniards* Power against them; for he was a sincere Lover of his Countrey, and had a great desire to return home, but in adverse Fortune he shew'd his undaunted Courage, and behaved himself towards his Enemies free from all dejection and mean spiritedness; but when he was in his Prosperity and in the heighth of his Victories he sent word to *Metellus*, and *Pompey*, that he was ready to lay down his Arms, and live a private Lite, if he were called home, declaring that he had rather be the meanest Citizen in *Rome*, than Supreme Commander of all other Cities together; and it is thought that his great Love for his Countrey was in no small measure promoted by the respect which he had for his Mother, under whom he was brought up in his tender Years, after the Death of his Father, and upon whom he had placed his intire Affection, and after that his Friends had sent for him
into

into *Spain* to be their General, as soon as he heard of his Mother's Death, he had almost cast away himself, and died for Grief; for he lay seven days together continually upon the Ground, without giving the Word, or being seen by the nearest of his Friends; and when the Chief Commanders of the Army, and Persons of the greatest Note came about his Tent, with great difficulty they prevailed with him at last to come abroad and speak to his Soldiers, and to take upon him the Management of Affairs, which were in a prosperous Condition; by all which he seems to have been of a mild and compassionate Temper, and naturally given to Ease and Quietness, and that he accepted of the Command of Military Forces contrary to his own Inclination; but not being able to live in safety, he was forced by his Enemies to have recourse to Arms, and to espouse the Wars as a necessary Guard for the defence of his Person.

His Administration of Affairs with King *Mithridates*, does further argue the greatness of his Mind; for after that *Mithridates* was overthrown by *Sylla*, and had recovered himself; and, as a strong Wrestler that is desirous to try another fall, was again endeavoring to re-establish his Power in *Asia*, at which time the great Fame of

*His Treaty
with Mi-
thridates.*

Sertorius

Sertorius was frequently celebrated in all Places ; and the Merchants which came out of *Spain* and the Western Parts of *Europe*, to furnish the *Asiaticks* with Forreign Commodities, had filled all the Kingdom of *Pontus* with their Discourses of his Exploits in War. *Mithridates* was earnestly desirous to send an Embassy to him, being also highly encouraged to it by the Boastings of his Parasites, and flattering Courtiers, who comparing *Mithridates* to *Pyrrhus*, and *Sertorius* to *Hannibal*, gave out that the *Romans* would never be able to make any considerable resistance against such great Forces, and Commanders of that Temper and sublime Judgment ; when they should be set upon on both sides at once, on one side by the most Warlike General that ever was, and on the other side by the most Powerfull Prince on Earth.

Mithridates sends Embassadours to Sertorius.

Mithridates having sent Embassadours into *Spain* to *Sertorius* with Letters, and Instructions, and with full Power and Commission to promise Ships, and good Sums of Money, towards the Charge of the War, if *Sertorius* would vouchsafe to confirm his Pretensions upon *Asia*, and Authorize him to possess all that he had surrendered to the *Romans*, in his Treaty with *Sylla*. *Sertorius* called a full Council, which
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he named the Senate; where, when all joyfully approved of the Conditions, and were desirous immediately to accept of his Offer, seeing that he desired nothing of them but a Name, and an empty Title to Places, not in their Power to dispose of, in recompence of which they should be supplied with what they then stood most in need of, *Sertorius* would by no means agree to it; declaring, that as he was willing that King *Mithridates* should exercise all Royal Power and Authority over *Bithinia* and *Cappadocia*, Countries accustomed to a Monarchical Government, and not belonging to *Rome*, so he could never consent that he should seize or detain a Province, which by due Right and Title, was possessed by the *Romans*, which *Mithridates* had formerly lost in open War to *Fimbria*, and had afterwards quitted upon a Treaty of Peace with *Sylla*, for he looked upon it as his Duty to enlarge the *Roman* Possessions by his Conquering Arms, and not to encrease his own Power, by the Diminution of the *Roman* Territories, telling them that a generous-minded man, though he willingly accepts of Victory, when it comes accompanied with Honour, yet he will never so much as endeavour to defend himself or save his own Life, upon any dishonourable terms.

When this was related to *Mithridates* he

St

was

He makes
a League
with King
Mithrida-
tes.

was struck with admiration, and said to his intimate Friends, What will *Sertorius* enjoyn us to do, when he comes to be seated in the Senate-house in *Rome*, who at present, when he is driven out to the furthest parts of the Earth, bordering upon the far remote Western Ocean, sets bounds to our Kingdoms in the East, and threatens us with War, if we Attempt the recovery of *Asia*? However they solemnly upon Oath concluded a League between them, upon these Terms, That *Mithridates* should enjoy the free possession of *Cappadocia* and *Bythinia*, and that *Sertorius* should send him Soldiers, and a General for his Army, in recompence of which the King was to supply him with three thousand Talents, and forty Ships. *Marcus Marius* a Roman Senator, who had quitted *Rome* to follow *Sertorius*, was sent General into *Asia*, by whose Conduct when *Mithridates* had reduced divers of the *Asian* Cities, *Marius* made his entrance with Rods and Axes carried before him, as before a Proconsul of *Rome*, and *Mithridates* followed in the second place, voluntarily waiting upon him; some of these Cities he set at liberty, and others he freed from Taxes, signifying to them by Letters, that these Priviledges were granted to them by the Grace and Favour of *Sertorius*, and hereby *Asia* which had been miserably tormented by the unsatiableness of the

the Publicans, and oppressed by the insolent Pride and Covetousness of the Soldiers began to rise again, and with new Wings added to their former hopes, to soar aloft in earnest Desires towards their long wished for change of Government.

But in *Spain* the Senators about *Sertorius* and others of the Nobility, finding themselves strong enough for their Enemies, and having no less hopes of returning to *Rome*; they no sooner laid aside all fear; but Envy, immediately, and unreasonable Jealousies inflamed their minds, and chiefly *Perpenna*, who being of a Noble Family, and extremely envious of *Sertorius's* Greatness, was at this time so arrogantly transported with a fond Ambition of Commanding the Army, that he threw out villanous Discourses in private amongst his intimate Acquaintance, and among those whose seditious Ingratitude, had made more willing to hearken to him. What evil Genius (would he often say) hurries us perpetually from worse to worse, and we who disdained to obey the Dictates of *Sylla*, the great Ruler of Sea, and Land, and might have lived at home in Peace and Quiet, are come hither to our destruction, hoping to enjoy Liberty, where most wretchedly we have made our selves Slaves of our own accord, and are become the contemptible Guards and Attendants of the banished *Ser-*

Perpenna
conspires a-
gainst *Ser-*
torius.

torius, who that he may expose us the further, gives us a name that renders us ridiculous to all that hear it, and calls us the Senate, when at the same time he makes us undergo more hard Labour, and forces us to be more subject to his haughty Commands and Insolencies, than the poor *Spaniards* and *Lusitanians*. With these mutinous Discourses, he continually seduced them; and many who could not be brought to fall into Rebellion openly against *Sertorius*, fearing his great Power and Authority, were prevailed with, to endeavour to destroy his Interest secretly; and by many ways to ruin his Affairs. For by abusing the *Lusitanians* and *Spaniards*, by inflicting severe Punishments upon them, by raising exorbitant Taxes, and by pretending that all this was done by the strict Command of *Sertorius*, they caused great Troubles and made many Cities to revolt: and those who were sent to mitigate and heal these Differences, did rather exasperate them, and encrease the Number of his Enemies, and left them at their return more obstinate and rebellious than they found them. Which so highly incensed *Sertorius*, and caused so great an alteration in his former Clemency and Goodness towards the *Spaniards* Sons, educated in the great City of *Osca*; that contrary to all Civil Justice, he cruelly put some of them to Death, and sold others.

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In the mean time *Perpenna* having increased the Number of his Conspirators, drew in *Manlius*, a Commander in the Army, who at that time loved a Youth, and to endear him the more discovered the Confederacy to him, perswading him to neglect his other Lovers, and to be constant to him, alone ; who in a few days was to be a person of great Power and Authority ; but the Youth having a greater Inclination for *Aufidius*, disclosed all to him, which much surprized and amazed him ; for he was also one of the Confederacy ; but knew not that *Manlius* was any ways engaged therein ; but when the Youth began to name *Perpenna*, *Gracinus*, and others, which he knew very well were sworn Conspirators, he was very much terrified, and astonished ; but made flight of it to the youth, and bid him not regard what *Manlius* said, a vain boasting fellow ; but however went presently to *Perpenna*, and giving him notice of the danger they were in, and of the shortness of their time, desired him immediately to put their designs in Execution ; and when all the Confederates had consented to it, they provided a Messenger who brought feigned Letters to *Sertorius*, in which he had notice of a Victory obtained by one of his Lieutenants, and of the great slaughter of his Enemies ; and

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as *Sertorius*, being extreamly well pleased, was Sacrificing and giving thanks to the Gods for his prosperous Success, *Perpenna* invited him and those with him (who were also of the Conspiracy) to an Entertainment, and being very importunate, prevailed with him to come. At all Suppers and Entertainments where *Sertorius* was present, great Order and Decency was wont to be observed, for he would not endure to hear or see any thing that was rude or unhandsome, and their Freedom and Mirth, was Modest and Inoffensive; but in the middle of this Entertainment, those who sought occasion to quarrel, fell into dissolute Discourses openly, and making as if they were very Drunk, committed many Insolencies on purpose to provoke him; and *Sertorius* being Offended with their ill behaviour, or perceiving the unquietness of their Minds by their muttering and sudden disrespect, changed the posture of his lying, and leaned backward, as one that neither heard nor regarded them. When *Perpenna* took a Cup full of Wine, and as he was drinking, let it fall out of his hand, and made a noise, which was the sign agreed on between them; and *Antonius* who was next to *Sertorius*, immediately wounded him with his Sword, and whilst *Sertorius* upon receiving the Wound turned himself and strove to get up, *Antonius* threw himself upon his Breast,

*The manner
of Sertorius's
Death.*

Breast, and held both his hands, whereby not being able to free himself, he was exposed to the fury of the rest of the Confederates, who killed him upon the place with many Wounds.

Upon the first News of his Death, most of the *Spaniards* left the Conspirators, and sent Embassadors to *Pompey* and *Metellus*, and yielded themselves up to them. *Perpenna* attempted to do something with those that remained, but he made so ill use of *Sertorius's* Arms and Preparations for War, that he soon made it evident to all, that he understood no more how to Command, than he knew how to Obey, and when he came against *Pompey* he was soon overthrown, and taken Prisoner; neither did he bear this last affliction with any bravery of Mind, but having *Sertorius's* Papers and Writings in his hands, he offered to shew *Pompey* Letters from Persons of Consular Dignity, and of the highest Quality in *Rome*, written with their own hands, expressly to call *Sertorius* into *Italy*, and to let him know, what great Numbers there were that did earnestly desire to alter the present State of Affairs; and to introduce another manner of Government. Upon this occasion *Pompey* behaved himself not like a young Man, or one of a light inconsiderate Mind, but as a Generous Commander of a confirmed, mature, solid Judgment: whereby he freed

The Spaniards forsake the Conspirators, and yield themselves up to Pompey and Metellus.

Perpenna
put to
Death.

Rome from great Fears and Innovations, for he put all *Sertorius's* Writings together and read not one of them, nor suffered any one else to read them, but burnt them all, and caused *Perpenna* immediately to be put to Death, lest by discovering their Names, further Troubles and Revolutions might ensue.

Of the rest of the Conspirators with *Perpenna*, some of them were taken and slain by the Command of *Pompey*, others fled into *Africa*, and were set upon by the *Moors*, and run through with their Darts; and in a short time not one of them was left alive; except only *Aufidius*, the Rival of *Manlius*, who hiding himself, or not being much enquired after, dyed an Old Man, in an obscure Village in *Spain*, in extreme Poverty, and hated by all.

THE

The Comparifon of *Sertorius* with *Eumenes*.

THefe are the moft Remarkable Paflages, that are come to our knowledge, concerning *Eumenes* and *Sertorius*. In comparing their Lives, we may obferve, that this was common to them both; that being Aliens, Strangers, and banifhed Men, they came to be Commanders of Powerful Forces, and had the leading of Numerous, and Warlike Armies, made up of divers Nations. This was peculiar to *Sertorius*, that the Chief Command was by his whole Party, freely yielded to him, as to the Perfon, undoubtedly of the greateft merit, and of the higheft Worth and Renown; whereas many contended with *Eumenes*, till by his great Performances, he at length obtained the Superiority.

The Soldiery followed the one, being earneftly defirous to be Commanded by him, and fubmitted themfelves to the other for their own fecurity. The one being a *Roman*, was the General of the *Spaniards* and *Lufitanians*, who for many years before, had been under the Subjection of the *Roman* Empire; and the other a *Cherronefian*, was chief Commander of the *Macedonians*,

Macedonians, who were the great Conquerors of Mankind, and had at times subdued the World. *Sertorius* being already in high esteem for his Courage and Conduct, and admired for his former services in the Wars, and his great Abilities in the Senate-House, was advanced to the Dignity of a General over a great and numerous Army. Whereas *Eumenes* obtained this honour from the Office of a Writer or Secretary, and from having been a long while despised by the great Ones, for his Scribbling Employment. Nor did he only at first take his rise from these slender Opportunities, but afterwards also met with great Impediments in the further Encrease, and Progress of his Honour and Authority, and that, not only from those who publickly resisted him, but from many others that privately Conspired against him; but it was much otherwise with *Sertorius*, for not one of his Party did ever publickly oppose him, or promote any Insurrection against him; nor secretly; till at last a few of his Acquaintance entered into a private Conspiracy. *Sertorius* put an end to his Dangers, as often as he was Victorious in the Field, whereas the Victories of *Eumenes* were the beginning of his Calamities, through the Malice of those that envied his Glory.

Their martial performances were equal
and

and parallel, but their manners and inclinations were different. *Eumenes* naturally loved War and Contention, but *Sertorius* esteemed Peace and Tranquility: When *Eumenes* might have lived in safety, with honour, if he would have quietly retired, he persisted in his contentions, and made War with the greatest of the *Macedonian* Princes, with the danger and loss of his Life: But *Sertorius*, who was unwilling to trouble himself with any publick disturbances, was forced, for the safety of his Person, to make War against those who would not suffer him to live in peace: If *Eumenes* had not violently contended for the Superiority, or could have contented himself with the second place, *Antigonus* would have used him handsomly, and shewn him all favour and respect, whereas *Pompey's* Friends would never permit *Sertorius* to live in quiet. The one made War of his own accord, out of his ambition to Rule and Govern; and the other was constrained to accept of the Sovereign Power and Authority, to defend himself from his Enemies that made War against him. *Eumenes* was certainly a true Lover of War, for he preferr'd his covetous Ambition before his own ease and security; but *Sertorius* was truly warlike, who procured his own safety by the successful force of his Arms.

As to the manner of their Deaths, it happened

ned to one without the least thought or surmise of it ; but to the other when he suspected it daily ; which in the first argued a clear equal temper, and a noble mind not to distrust his Friends : But in the other it shewed some infirmity of Spirit, for *Eumenes* intended to fly and was taken. The death of *Sertorius* dishonoured not his life, he suffered that from his companions, that none of his mortal enemies were ever able to perform. The other not being able to deliver himself before his imprisonment, being willing also to live in captivity, did neither prevent nor expect his fate with any honour or bravery ; for by meanly supplicating and petitioning, he made his enemy, that pretended only to have power over his Body, to be Lord and Master of his Body and Mind.



